Journal of Administration Overseas

Volume XIII/Number 2/April, 1974

Price 32½p quarterly net; annual subscription including postage £1.50

INCLUDING

Administrative Reform in Saudi Arabia
by Richard A. Chapman

Local Government in West Malaysia
by J. H. Beaglehole

The Kenya Special Rural Development Programme
by J. W. Leach

Creating Employment in Kenya—A Review Article
by Ian Livingstone

BOOK REVIEWS

by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, J. C. D. Lawrance, Dr. Philip Mawhood, Professor John Beattie

Published for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development Administration

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

This *Journal* is edited in the Social Affairs Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Overseas Development Administration. It aims at providing a medium for the exchange of information about administration at all levels, whether in local government or in the organization of central departments. It also covers land tenure. Nothing in the *Journal* should be read as necessarily representing official views or policy unless this is specifically stated. The responsibility for facts and opinions expressed in signed articles rests with the authors.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Articles for publication in the *Journal* from serving officers and others with knowledge and experience in the field covered by the *Journal* are welcome and should be addressed to the Editor, Social Affairs Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development Administration, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London SW1E 5DH.

Books for review, reports and communications for the Editor should be similarly addressed.

Twenty off-prints are supplied free of charge on request to contributors whose articles are published. Requests for off-prints should be made at the time articles are submitted. Off-prints in excess of twenty are charged for at a rate relative to the length of the article.

Orders and subscriptions should be sent to Her Majesty's Stationery Office at the addresses given below.

The Government does not accept responsibility for any of the private or trade advertisements included in this publication

Published by

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

49 High Holborn, London WC1V 6HB

13a Castle St., Edinburgh EH2 3AR
41 The Hayes, Cardiff CF1 1JW
Brazennose St., Manchester M60 8AS
Southey House, Wine Street, Bristol BS1 2BQ
258 Broad St., Birmingham B1 2HE
80 Chichester St., Belfast BT1 4JY

or through booksellers

Price 32½p net, annual subscription including postage, £1.50

© *Crown copyright 1974*

Journal of Administration Overseas

Volume XIII/Number 2/April 1974

VOLUME XIII/NUMBER 2/APRIL 1974

Contents

Editor's Notes 331

Administrative Reform in Saudi Arabia
by Richard A. Chapman 332

Local Government in West Malaysia
by J. H. Beaglehole 348

The Kenya Special Rural Development Programme
by J. W. Leach 358

The Rejuvenation of Public Administration in Developing Countries
by Rosamund M. Thomas 366

Creating Employment in Kenya – A Review Article
by Ian Livingstone 374

Botswana Papers – A Review Article
by Willie Henderson 383

Quarterly Notes: 388
UK Town and Country Planning Overseas Summer School
Halting the Sahara Desert in Tunisia
UK Joint Twinning Committee
UN and Corruption in Government
Nigerian Newspaper Deliveries
A New Malaysian Journal

Book Reviews 393

Book Notes 407

Editor's Notes

AFTER our Birthday Number in which, for once and briefly, we turned the pages back, we now look forward once again and in this Number administrative and local government reform in the mainly rural areas of the Middle East, South East Asia and East and Southern Africa, all receive attention.

Dr. Richard Chapman contributes the first article on Saudi Arabia which we have ever published. It is particularly pertinent, as we face the present energy crisis, to have this examination of the problems of administrative reform in this sparsely populated desert country, rich in oil, and thereby powerful, but otherwise poor and undeveloped; with administrators conscious of the watchful eye of tribal and religious elders – jealous guardians of tradition – and cautious therefore over pressing unduly the speed of greatly-needed change.

Dr. Beaglehole follows up his article on district administration* with an examination of proposals for local government reform in Western Malaysia which were largely forestalled by a government decision to abolish elected local authorities. Faced with the perhaps unnecessarily stark alternatives of retaining the *status quo* or abolishing field (district) administration in favour of radically reformed Local Authorities, the reformers inevitably lost the day, at any rate in the short term.

J. W. Leach reviews the operations of Kenya's Special Rural Development Programme over its first five years, 1968-73, during which various teething troubles were encountered, such as the occasional clash of opinion as between the keen field enthusiast and the more cautious "ministry man" at headquarters. But of greatest significance was the evolution of a prototype Rural Management System. Following Kenya's Sessional Paper on Employment (No. 10 of 1973) in which priority is accorded to agriculture and rural development, there must be fair hope that practical use will now be made of the ideas developed and lessons learnt from the SRD programme. Closely relevant material is included in Ian Livingstone's review article on the Report of the ILO Mission to Kenya to which Paper No. 10 relates. In the same subject area, this time in the context of Botswana, is Willie Henderson's review article on three papers issued in Gaborone dealing with rural development; a theme of two recent Journal articles by Professor Tordoff**.

Finally, Rosamund Thomas suggests guidelines for self-examination by public servants and by political leaders with the main purpose of creating greater sensitivity towards societal values and a more positive response to ideas for administrative innovations.

---

*Vol. XII, No. 4, October 1973.

**Vol. XII, No. 4, October 1973, and Vol. XIII, No. 1, January 1974.

Administrative reform in Saudi Arabia

By RICHARD A. CHAPMAN

Dr. Chapman is Reader, Department of Politics, at the University of Durham.

Introduction

There can be few countries where manpower problems are currently more interesting to students of the Third World than Saudi Arabia, and it is the aim of this article to draw attention to those problems. This is partly because Saudi Arabia, which is a fascinating country in many respects, is now at a crucial stage of administrative reform and development, and little has been published in English language academic journals about its administrative problems and progress. It is also partly because Saudi Arabia has quite exceptional problems and an approach to reform and development distinctively its own – and if our understanding of development problems is to advance, at least as much may be learned from an exceptional case as from more conventional examples; in addition, apparent exceptions are sometimes useful for testing general hypotheses.

Employment in the public service alone, as distinct from the more general employment situation, is becoming a well-developed specialist study and for a number of reasons is particularly important for understanding Third World problems. For example, firstly, the public services in most countries are responsible for providing education, and education patterns affect, in several ways, employment opportunities for individuals as well as the general availability of different types of skills and degrees of training; also, education policies may result in controls or constraints which affect the employment situation. Secondly, because the public service is able largely to run, with a minimum of interference from outside, its own recruitment, training and promotion schemes, it may be able to produce more effective staffing policies than private employment. And thirdly, the public service is normally responsible for collecting and maintaining national statistics, and efficiency in that function is fundamental to all aspects of the general employment situation. However, because the system of public administration is part of the political as well as part of the more general social system, it can never be understood in isolation from questions of political ideology and political development which it affects and which affect it.

An indication of current and growing interest in world employment problems may be seen in the papers of the 1970 Cambridge Conference on "Prospects for Employment Opportunities in the Nineteen Seventies"[1].

[1]The Cambridge Conference is organised by the Cambridge University Overseas Studies Committee. The papers and impressions of the 1970 conference are contained in Ronald Robinson and Peter Johnston (Eds.), *Prospects for Employment Opportunities in the Nineteen Seventies*, H.M.S.O., 1971.

One of the notable features of the Conference was that, whilst it has been said that such conferences are usually in two minds, the Conference Chairman has since written that that particular conference was in five or six minds. The reason was the unexpected growth of unemployment which led economists to review policies for resource allocation though they reached no consensus about what should be done. Although the Cambridge Conference is concerned with problems of development in the Third World, employment problems are to be observed in the more, as well as the less, economically developed countries. Various facets may assume different degrees of relative importance in different countries, but employment problems now exist generally and it seems that economists, who are largely responsible for quantitative approaches to development problems, have found no generally acceptable solutions for such problems at any stage of economic development. It therefore seems particularly relevant at this time to consider some of the current features of administrative reform in Saudi Arabia and draw attention to the ways in which that quite exceptional country is approaching its problems of development.

The Political System in Saudi Arabia

The main characteristic of the system of government in Saudi Arabia is that it is an Islamic monarchy which, in recent years, has been developing from monarchical to ministerial rule. In *The Times*[2] just over a year ago, Paul Martin, referring to King Faisal, commented: "On gaining the throne in 1964 he not only introduced a modern interpretation of monarchical rule . . . with a measure of administrative reform, but he also set the country on a path of change – the principal aim being social development but also by the very process of modernisation to preserve the conservatism which characterises traditional Saudi rule". This approach is also stated in the *Development Plan* which says: "The general objectives of economic and social development policy for Saudi Arabia are to maintain its religious and moral values, and to raise the living standards of its people, while providing for national security and maintaining economic and social stability"[3].

Because the Saudi society is based on Islam its political culture and institutions are very different from other countries; whilst it has many of the attributes and mores expected in a democracy it has none of the political parties or movements that one would expect in a Western political system. Indeed, to call its system of government an absolute monarchy may be constitutionally correct, but in fact it is misleading because of the connotations associated with the term in the Western world. It is a monarchy, but of a type which cannot be understood without an appreciation of the Islamic faith. The religion covers the whole conduct of life and constitutes an intellectual framework within which other activity takes place[4]. Conse-

---

[2]Paul Martin, "Stability ensured as social revolution confronts feudal tradition", *The Times*, 29 November 1971.

[3]*Development Plan* 1390 *A.H.*, Central Planning Organisation, The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1970, p. 23.

[4]See W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh University Press, 1968.

quently, the only way to appreciate the political system and public administration processes, is through an understanding of the standards and mores of Islam. The duties of the King-Imam are defined in the Shariah Law (the law of the land is known as the Shariah, or religious Islamic law as recorded in the Koran and interpreted by the religious men), which recognises the Imam not as an hereditary monarch but one who reigns to rule, provided that his rule is at all times directed to the public good. This approach to government through Islam is illustrated by Omar Ibn Al-Kattab's saying: "Were an animal to fall off the bank of the Euphrates, I should be held to account on the Day of Judgment for having failed to make a safe path for it"[5].

Arabia, more than any other Arab country, has been influenced by the religious reform movement of Sheik Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, which was initiated in Najd during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century. The House of Sa'ud is named after its founder, Sa'ud ibn Muhammad ibn Muqrin, of al-Dir'iya. The family is of the 'Anazan Tribe, one of the Rabi'ah tribes living in Najd, Iraq and Syria. In the year 1744 A.D., Sheik Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab proclaimed Emir Muhammad ibn Sa'ud Imam, and the latter undertook to spread the religious message through his power and influence while the former remained in al-Dir'iya to preach and teach.

The modern history of Saudi Arabia begins with the recapture of Riyadh by King 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Faisal Al Sa'ud in 1901. Other conquests followed and the Kingdom's international position was reaffirmed by concluding treaties, the most important of which was the Treaty of Jiddah signed in 1927. It superseded the treaty of protection concluded in 1915, and Britain recognised the complete independence of the Kingdom in return for a pledge by King 'Abd al-'Aziz to abstain from attacking the Gulf Sheikdoms which were under British protection.

At the present time King Faisal heads the government as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. The remaining members of the Council of Ministers – some of whom are members of the royal family – include the Deputy Prime Minister and Ministers of Finance, Justice, National Defence and Aviation, Communications, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and Water, the Interior, Education, Information, Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Health, Labour and Social Affairs, and Pilgrimage and Waqfs. Ministers are responsible to the King, and almost all the apparatus of modern government – ministries, civil service, budgeting system, etc. – has been set up since about 1955 (in the early 1950s the Ministry of Finance was the only executive department of government). An independent judiciary and a modern judicial system form part of an important reform programme begun in 1962, and the first Minister of Justice was appointed in 1970. The Royal Decrees of 1953 and 1958, which provided for a Council of Ministers and laid down its functions, may be regarded as the beginning of the "consti-

[5]Quoted in Ahmed Assah, *Miracle of the Desert Kingdom*, Johnson, 1967, p. 13.2 See also Judge Gerald Sparrow, *Modern Saudi Arabia*, Knightly Vernon, 1970.

tutional regime", the first step towards the popular consultation system recognised by the Shariah Law[6].

Although there is no electoral system or political parties, Saudi Arabia has its own form of Islamic democracy whereby differences are minimised between the rich and the poor, the governors and the governed. This is said to be particularly true among the inhabitants of the desert: "The Desert can truly be called the cradle of democracy. The relation between a bedouin and his chief is characterised by the utmost ease and lack of embarrassment, and he stands on equal footing with him"[7]. Such democracy has an important conditioning effect on the administrative system, for the custom followed by Ministers and top officials, as well as all other employees, is to keep their doors open for anyone with any business just to call in at any time without prior appointment and to offer them refreshments in accordance with the country's customs.

Administratively, a more formal regionalism was introduced in 1963 when the country was divided into four provinces, Hejaz, Najd, Asir and Eastern Province (Al Hassa), each with an appointed governor, or Emir, who is charged with local administration, maintenance of order and implementation of Shariah judgments. It is clearly important for the country to generate an enduring sense of national unity if it is to avoid any of the regional separatism from which King 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Sa'ud wedded his people fifty years ago. However, at present it seems that Islamic zeal is responsible for much of the social and political cohesion in this vast Kingdom. Although various ministries have field offices, and the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for appointing the Emirs, there is no effective local government in Saudi Arabia as the term is known in Western-style democracies. There are no elections for Emirs or municipality employees, who are appointed by the Ministry of the Interior; and, since the municipalities are dependent on the Government for funds with only modest taxes being raised locally, and the prevailing attitude of the people is to expect the Government to supply necessary services and public utilities, and for the Government to accept that it has such obligations, there has so far been no pressure to implement an effective local government system. The only form of local election is for municipality council members (called Al-Majles Al-Baladi), who perform no more than advisory functions, their advice being directed to the chief municipal executive. The "district system" of local administration was approved in principle by Royal Decree[8] about ten years ago but it has not yet been implemented and the Ministry of the Interior is still working out the details.

---

[6]See Charles W. Harrington, "The Saudi Arabian Council of Ministers", *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 12, 1958, pp. 1-20; St. J. B. Philby, "Saudi Arabia: The New Statute of the Council of Ministers", *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 12, 1958, pp. 318-323; and Ahmed Assah, *op. cit.*

[7]'Abd Allah al-'Ali az-Zamil, "The Bedouins", an article published in *al-Bilad* newspaper, No. 708, 3 Dhu al-Hijjah 1380 (7 June 1961), quoted in Khalil al-Ghalayinin, *Civil Service in Saudi Arabia, Study and Analysis*, Institute of Public Administration, Riyadh, 1382. See also Nihad Ghadri, *The Great Challenge*, 1968, which also makes the point that "the 'open door' is one aspect of the Saudi approach to democracy in their distinctive society" (p. 80).

[8]Royal Decree No. 12 dated 21/5/1383.

The Saudi Arabian Economy

Saudi Arabia is a country which in some respects is modern and industrialised though in other respects it is typical of developing countries; but to say that is, in fact, to say very little. For there is no fully-developed country in the world today, nor does there appear to be any wholly-undeveloped country; all are more or less developing, some are more advanced in one respect, others in another. It is only certain economists obsessed with quantification who can really tabulate degrees of so-called development in accordance with clearly-defined measurable criteria – and according to their approaches the most important characteristic of developing countries is poverty.

The interesting feature about Saudi Arabia is, however, that the poverty relates not to lack of finance but to the inadequacy of the labour force which is both educationally deficient, lacking technical skills needed to implement fully and quickly the government's reform policies, and numerically insufficient to carry out the vast programmes the government has under consideration. Indeed, the Saudi Arabian economy seems to be dominated not by shortage of funds to encourage development, but by four other characteristics: its dependence on oil; its commitment to a free economy; its manpower problems; and its rapid rate of development in the past decade. Furthermore, these economic characteristics should be seen in relation to the Islamic culture which conditions the attitudes and way of life of the people and influences decision making at all levels.

Oil accounts for 99 per cent of exports, and over 85 per cent of governmental revenue[9] (agriculture accounts for some 46 per cent of the labour force but only 6 per cent of GNP), and oil revenue, already rising fast, will rise substantially in the next few years as a result of the 1971 agreements signed with oil companies. There is no income tax as understood in Western countries, and although a *jihad*, or holy war tax, was introduced temporarily in 1970, to help finance the annual grant which the Government pays to Egypt and Jordan (raised to £66m at the time of the *jihad*), it ceased with the increase in oil revenues. Nor is there any form of local taxation that can be compared with the British system of rates; municipalities have a small income from sources such as property registration fees but they in fact depend on the Government for their income. The annual Haj to Mecca and Medina, though increasing in terms of the number of pilgrims – in 1971 there were around 400,000 from abroad – seems to be decreasing in comparative economic significance mainly because of the general growth of the economy, though the administrative problems connected with the Haj still require the attention of one of the most important government departments.

Diversification is vitally important to the economy because the degree of dependence on oil is so overwhelming at present; in 1968 and 1969 this dependence was particularly appreciated when oil revenues dwindled. At Damman, in the Eastern Province, the Saudi Arabian Fertilizer Company has recently started producing urea, using natural gas as a raw material;

---

[9]See Nicholas Ashford, "Economy transformed by crude price agreement", *The Times*, 29 November 1971.

a steel rolling mill and an oil refinery have been built at Jiddah. In agriculture large sums are being spent on finding underground sources of water, on building dams and improving irrigation, to increase the area of land under cultivation, settle the nomads and produce more food and other goods for import substitution.

But projects for diversification and development also create new administrative challenges in reform and modernisation. An example is the Al Hassa Irrigation and Drainage Project, where the intention is to make the maximum use of the available water from the oasis at Al Hassa. The project has impressive goals and the size of some of the physical features is enormous – for example, the length of the concrete irrigation canals is 1,520 km., similar to the distance from London to Rome, and they carry water from 162 artesian springs. Because a free economy and respect for traditions are two of the characteristics of the Saudi Arabian approach to development, the Project Director's task of supplying water to farmers becomes particularly complex. Farmers have to be encouraged to take water only in accordance with the overall irrigation plan, which means they have to adjust their traditional unregulated farming system to the rather mechanistic requirements of the water supply from the project. They may also have to be persuaded to change their crops to fit in with the water supply as some crops need more water than others – and this, in turn, may require changes in obligations imposed by inheritance (some land is inherited on condition that a particular crop is grown) and any such crop changes would therefore have to be agreed by the specialists in Shariah Law. Other changes, similarly of great importance and potential controversy to the individuals and their families, relate to necessary changes in farming habits and expertise, and it is the task of the project management to elicit the co-operation of the people by tactics of encouragement and persuasion.

Whilst in most developing countries there is a general drift of the population from rural to urban areas to which people are attracted by prospects of work, greater incomes and the social facilities offered by cities, an opposite movement seems to have begun in relation to Al Hassa. People who had moved away from the oasis to live elsewhere because they were unable to continue farming their land as salination had made it infertile, are now beginning to return. This trend, which is probably exceptional in developing countries, may be explained mainly by the reclamation of land through the irrigation and drainage project, whereby family farms previously infertile have become workable again, but partly also because there are few attractions in cities that are not available in Hofuf, the town where the project is situated. This is because Saudi towns have no cinemas, theatres, or other forms of entertainment that may be regarded as "typically western", and such public utilities as piped water, sewage disposal and electricity are all as available in Hofuf as they are in big cities.

Within a few years water, already scarce, may become the crucial factor in the country's further development. Indeed, water is so important that any deterioration in the present supply, and possibly also any failure further to increase the supply, could undermine the massive developments already in progress. It is, therefore, obvious that attention should be given to

desalination projects to make sea water usable and also, if possible, to purify saline inland water. Two plants are already completed at Jedda and Al Khobar, drawing water from the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf and with capacities to produce 5 million and 7.5 million gallons of pure water daily. It has been calculated that the production cost is reasonable, though the cost of almost any project to produce pure water is likely to appear reasonable in a country so desperately in need of it. A particularly interesting feature is that waste gas that would otherwise be freely burned in the desert, is being used to power the desalination project – the gas for Al Khobar is currently being piped from Abqaiq about 170 kilometres distant. This is an important development which is likely to be extended to other areas in future. However, it also draws attention to the problems associated with oil and water resources, for current appreciations of the supplies of both depend on little more than professional guesswork, and until there are more reliable analyses of the situation, the continued use of the resources and future developments which depend on them must, in turn, depend as much on good fortune as on any other factor.

Changes in Education

The increase in the provision of education facilities, and consequently in the number of qualified people at all levels, is a phenomenon which has influenced recruitment requirements and practices in governments throughout the world at the present time[10]. It applies in Britain where the enormous increase in the undergraduate population in universities during the 1960s has influenced recruitment and training policies in central and local government. It also applies in less developed countries, where, however, there may, in addition, and more obviously, be other features of fundamental importance as well as a general increase in numbers.

According to the Saudi Arabian *Development Plan*, about 46 per cent of the population are below 15 years of age[11] and therefore not included in the group from which the labour force is recruited; this has an important effect on government education and training policies, and in recent years secondary school enrolment has increased by about 11 per cent per year[12]. Part of this rise may be explained by general population expansion and by the increasing popular demand for education, but a significant part must also be the result of gradual female emancipation. In 1383-84 A.H.[13] there were

---

[10]See, for example, Aryeh Attir, *Adaptation of Public Personnel Administration to Changes in Society*, (XIVth International Congress of Administrative Sciences), I.I.A.S., 1971.

[11]*Development Plan*, p. 65.

[12]*Development Plan*, p. 95.

[13]The Hijri calendar is based on a lunar year, therefore it recedes approximately eleven days compared with the Christian calendar which is based on a solar year, so that every 32½ years it passes through all the solar seasons. Consequently, it is not possible to transpose simply and accurately years between the two calendars. In this article the Christian calendar is used whenever the dates are known or can be ascertained from Hijri dates, but readers who find the occasional Hijri date confusing may like to know that Muharram I of the Hijri year 1383 occurred on 25 May 1963 and Muharram I of 1384 on 13 May 1964. For further details see G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*, Oxford University Press, 1963.

only about 32,000 girls enrolled in elementary school, but by 1389-90 the number had risen to almost 115,000 in elementary school alone, with another 10,800 attending intermediate level classes in the public system: girl students now represent about 30 per cent of the total elementary level enrolment, but beyond the intermediate level there is at present only one public general academic elementary school for girls and five small secondary level teacher training institutes[14]. In due course this change in policy towards greater education provision for girls will result in a gradual increase in the female component of the labour force.

In order to meet the requirements of the education programmes Saudi Arabia has, at present, to depend on a considerable element of foreign assistance. This may be seen in two features of the education system. First, despite the establishment in 1967 of King Abdul Aziz University (the country's third university, the others are Riyadh University, founded in 1957, and the Islamic University, Medina, founded in 1961), a considerable number of Saudis go abroad for their higher education – in January 1970 there were 1,740 Saudi students abroad in institutions of higher education, of whom 1,533 were studying for first degrees[15]. This compared with a total of 3,113 students at Riyadh and King Abdul Aziz Universities in the year 1389-90. Secondly, a significant proportion of teachers at all levels are non-Saudi (e.g. in 1389-90 over 70 per cent of the teaching staff in the girls' education system was non-Saudi, and it was 45 per cent in boys' education[16]). Together, these factors are of considerable significance in the education system within a country of increasing national awareness.

All developing countries have, of necessity, to give considerable attention to making the best use of the scarce resources that are available. Consequently, in Saudi Arabia, where manpower is at present the scarcest resource, attention has to be paid to maintaining standards in the public service whilst taking care to ensure that qualifications are not demanded to a level in excess of that necessary to do the work satisfactorily. In the public sector there are now regulations concerning the qualifications, in terms of both formal education and in training or experience, which are required for filling the various positions; but no such framework exists in the private sector where, in many cases, persons are employed according to what they can demonstrate they can do rather than the certificates they hold. This policy for the public sector is admirable in its intention of raising the proportion of qualified and able personnel and in encouraging staff to take advantage of opportunities to become qualified. But it also brings some disadvantages, for all qualifications of similar title are accorded equal significance, and a weak student who has managed to get a degree from a foreign university with questionable standards is likely to be equated with an outstanding student who has just qualified with a degree of similar title from, say, an Ivy League university.

---

[14] *Development Plan*, p. 96.
[15] *Development Plan*, pp. 68-69.
[16] *Development Plan*, p. 96.

One particularly interesting educational development related to administrative reform is to be seen in the Ministry of Education, where it has been observed that staff returning from training courses overseas tend to be more enthusiastic about implementing reforms and accepting administrative changes than staff who have not been on such courses. The Ministry of Education is the largest government department, with a staff of about 50,000 administrators and teachers throughout the country, of whom about 2,800 are employed centrally at the Ministry headquarters in Riyadh. In order to stimulate the maximum possible rate of administrative reform the Ministry has begun a massive five-year training programme to change staff attitudes and make them more proficient in their duties. Each year two groups of 50 key staff, accompanied by their wives and families, are sent to the U.S.A. – to universities in Oklahoma and Indiana – where they take a one-year training course in educational administration; a large number, but not all, will be taking M.Ed. degrees. This enormous programme to retrain 500 staff is intended radically to change staff work attitudes as well as to teach them more about the academic approaches to their work; such a large programme could not have been as quickly arranged in Saudi Arabia as it has been in the United States, for further education facilities in Saudi Arabia are still at an early stage of development and could not have provided such a large programme. This is an unprecedented, bold and fascinating experiment, and it will be very valuable to watch its progress and monitor the effects on the Ministry as the students return. There is little doubt that the staff will have changed attitudes, but it is less certain that the changes will necessarily be in the directions most desired by the Ministry.

It is noted in the Saudi Arabian *Development Plan* how difficult it is to relate jobs to educational or institutional requirements, but this relationship is in some respects the pivot on which success or failure in public administration depends. In the public service at the highest levels (where the shortage of adequately-qualified personnel is most keenly felt) it is often a question of ensuring that a candidate has basic educational qualifications plus qualities that enable him to deal with the unexpected, and personnel administration selection processes consequently aim to assess such unmeasurable qualities as judgment and initiative. At the lower levels it is relatively easy to classify jobs and specify qualifications needed, but this is more difficult for senior positions. And what tends to make this particularly difficult for developing countries is their present dependence on foreign training programmes and assistance, which in some respects are geared to alien cultures with different scales of values. Questions may also be raised about the suitability of educational syllabuses in developing countries which, often because of foreign influence, are not necessarily an ideal preparation for subsequent employment; in some cases they appear to have an academic content unrelated to the local environment, when a more vocational programme might develop much needed skills[17].

[17]In Saudi Arabia attempts are now being made to review school syllabuses so that they embody the many elements in human knowledge while continuing to reflect Islamic traditions and Arab culture. See Abd-el Wahab Abd-el Wassie, *Education in Saudi Arabia*, Macmillan, 1970.

The Manpower Shortage

There is considerable open unemployment in most developing countries at the present time. According to David A. Morse, who was the Director-General of the International Labour Office for twenty-two years until 1970, open unemployment (as distinct from "disguised unemployment" or "under employment") amounts to about 7½ per cent of the labour force in developing countries as a whole, and there are now about 75 million unemployed in the developing world[18]. The size of this problem therefore makes it urgent, but size is not the only reason for serious concern; it is obvious that the situation will get worse before it improves, and there is no reason to believe that if current development strategies are unchanged the problem will disappear.

The problem results from a number of factors, the most important of which are: the increasing population, rural/urban migration, the need for increased productivity and an appropriate product-mix, the distribution of income and pattern of demand, and the social aspirations and education of the people. In some countries the increasing output from schools has highlighted the inadequate employment opportunities that exist for educated young people, and policies for expanding the provision of education have encouraged utopian aspirations in workers. The earlier belief that the labour force of traditional sectors of developing countries would be absorbed by rapid modern sector growth has proved excessively optimistic, and many people from rural areas have migrated to towns where they have mistakenly thought wages are high and jobs readily available, but where they have been unemployed.

At first sight, these generalisations may appear appropriate for most developing countries, but they do not apply to Saudi Arabia. This may be because Saudi Arabia is different, because it has a large income from oil revenue (though it may not be out of place to add that generalisations often seem more suited to areas with which one is not primarily concerned), or it may be because the statistics on which the text of the *Development Plan* is founded are not as full and detailed as one would ideally wish.

In some respects, however, Saudi Arabia fits the general pattern of developing countries. The economy was previously based on agriculture and commerce, and more recently on oil, but there are now attempts to diversify as quickly as possible, and the main constraint on diversification is manpower. The number of workers in agriculture has been declining as farm workers have found more remunerative work in urban areas, and the proportion of the labour force in agriculture is expected to continue to decline as additional labour now surplus to agriculture moves into other areas[19] – though recent improvements in the industry mean there is unlikely to be a loss of productivity.

Rapid growth in Saudi Arabia has brought with it a growing demand for manpower at all levels and this has led to the employment of large numbers

---

[18] David A. Morse, "The Employment Problem in Developing Countries" in Robinson and Johnston, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-13.

[19] *Development Plan*, p. 249.

of foreign personnel in many important areas of the economy, particularly those requiring high levels of education and training. Nevertheless, employment of foreign personnel is only a partial and temporary solution to the country's manpower problems. The *Development Plan*, therefore, proposes that the productivity of Saudi and foreign employees should be raised in every way possible, by more training, by higher standards of management, and by improving the legal and administrative procedures affecting the conduct of public and private business[20]. Because the number of Saudi Arabian employees with levels of education and training high enough for the demands placed upon them is so low, a number of training programmes are being arranged with the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation.

This employment problem is similar for all aspects of the economy outlined in the *Development Plan*. It is stated that in the construction industry shortage of skilled manpower is the most significant of all problems[21]. Likewise in the health services, where the main constraint on development is shortage of manpower, the main targets of the Plan relate to manpower and training (for example, special attention is to be paid to training and making greater use of technicians in the health service as, for several reasons, they are recognised as particularly important in a developing country).

Saudi Arabia's *Development Plan* is, in fact, a list of priorities for each sector of the economy rather than a "plan" as the term is more strictly used in management. Its targets are unlikely to be met not for the reason common in developing countries of lack of funds, but because of the chronic shortage of manpower at all levels: in 1970 only 81 per cent of the funds allocated for the development sector were actually spent, the shortfall resulting from administrative difficulties and the acute shortage of skilled manpower. Estimates – there are no reliable statistics – of the total population vary between 4m and 7.7m., and there are thought to be almost 500,000 expatriates in Saudi Arabia. The most desperate shortage is of skilled and professional workers, but there is also a shortage of semi-skilled workers – hotels could not be run without Sudanese waiters and the booming construction industry employs many Yemenis.

The problems facing Saudi Arabia are in various ways different from those of other developing countries, and, as the *Development Plan* states, the rate at which Saudi Arabia's potential for development can be realised will depend to a large degree on manpower planning and the development of human resources. In few other developing countries can there be regular budget surpluses because of manpower shortages. But it should also be noted that in few other countries do they place the maintenance of religious and moral values so high in their lists of plan objectives.

The labour shortage may be important for administrative reform in at least three ways. First, it is likely to hasten the emancipation of women; education is now virtually accepted for girls – the first girls' school was started

---

[20] *Development Plan*, p. 22.
[21] *Development Plan*, p. 239.

as recently as 1960, but by 1969 there were some 80,000 girls studying in 233 schools. Women are already being employed as teachers and social workers and in spite of the objections aired by some conservative Islamic leaders, more opportunities are likely to be created as the education process affects society, as more Saudi women go abroad for higher education, and as more foreigners employed in Saudi Arabia influence trends of thought in this matter. Second, skilled and professionally qualified Saudis who form part of the small but growing middle class in the towns and cities, are likely increasingly to appreciate their own importance, and this could stimulate in them feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction and make them aware of their potential power for influencing the pace of modernisation and reform, perhaps in the political system as well as in public administration. Third, the growth of income and wealth in urban centres and the increased flow of Arab and foreign workers and experts into and out of the country is likely to evoke in the more affluent greater interest in foreign travel to neighbouring Arab countries as well as further afield, and this in turn is likely to result in a softening of social rigidities and a greater willingnesss to accept new ideas.

Where the reforms should be advanced most urgently is the sort of question stimulated by the *Development Plan*. It is immediately obvious that there are serious gaps in data urgently needed for the planning process (though again it should be remembered that this is Saudi Arabia's first five year plan, and all planning activity has to start somewhere), consequently much of the planning document appears to consist of broad recommendations. Yet, as the Plan states, the single most important limiting factor in obtaining the desired data is the shortage of trained people at both the central administration and field levels[22]. This is a somewhat circuitous process, for planners and decision makers have first to calculate how to get the information they need for producing aspects of the development plan in various areas. Hopes for the future are expressed in such sentences as "The staff of the Central Department of Statistics will be strengthened during the Plan by adding more Saudi and foreign experts and other permanent staff". There will be systematic training programmes – "Under the existing work pressures training occurs only incidentally"; and there is also a recommendation[23] to simplify the production of meaningful analyses of economic planning by compiling and presenting statistics according to the Gregorian calendar instead of by the present mixture of both Gregorian and Hijri. Some of the greatest hopes are, however, being placed on the first comprehensive National Census of Population, due to be taken in 1974. The census will cover data on age, sex, marital status, internal migration, literacy, occupation and economic activity. This will be preceded by a Census of Housing, also with wide coverage. The US Bureau of Census is providing consulting services which will be mainly advice in cartographic work, data processing systems and review of general and training programmes. Both teachers and students from various levels in the education system will assist with the census, and their number at the time of the "big count" is likely to exceed 10,000.

---

[22] *Development Plan*, p. 50.
[23] *Development Plan*, p. 52.

The administrative systems of all countries experience both internal and external pressures, and this is at no time more apparent than during the processes of reform. Such pressures are also different from country to country – but nowhere are they more distinctly unique than in Saudi Arabia. Paul Martin, Middle East Correspondent of *The Times*, has been particularly impressed by the administrative transformation in Saudi Arabia in the past decade which, he says, "has managed to produce an impressive array of able and intelligent men running her vital services". He adds that this is very impressive when it is also remembered that administrative reforms in Saudi Arabia "must be so tempered that they do not provoke the reaction of the tribes, which make up two-thirds of the country's population, or the Ulema, the religious council of elders, who are the jealous guardians of tradition"[24].

The Administrative System and Reform in Saudi Arabia

Any consideration of Saudi Arabia's problems must include whether, in view of its obvious wealth and rapid development in recent years, the country can be grouped with others as a developing country, for in most countries in the Third World the greatest problem is lack of financial resources and it is sometimes thought that if the financial resources were available they would act as a sort of philosopher's stone, being the key to solving all other problems. It is the contention of this article that Saudi Arabia *should* be grouped with other developing countries and that one of the difficulties in making useful comments about the developing world is that scholars and others have been over-influenced by the economists' approaches, almost to the exclusion of the contributions that could be made by other disciplines. Indeed, it was therefore hardly surprising that the 1970 Cambridge Conference, so dominated by economists, was in five or six minds. During the conference David Morse recommended the "dethronement of GNP" as the goal for planning and the measurement of performance in development; and by that he intended to draw attention to the fact that true progress depends on other factors besides increase in GNP; that economic growth is not, in itself, the cure for many of the major ills besetting a society. The problems of Saudi Arabia suggest that Morse may have been more right than in general the economists thought.

A Bahraini economist, analysing the problems of the whole of the Arabian peninsula, has been quoted in *The Economist* as saying: "In Arabia we are all primitive and backward peoples. Save for the oil we are poor. We have no rain and no trained brains. We have not enough people. The infrastructure for modern technology is simply not here. What's the use of graduates when they are not backed up by technicians? We are like Spain and Britain were in the fourteenth century. Both found wealth. Spain turned it into palaces, Britain into skills. The question is this – can we turn oil into skills?"[25].

The remainder of *The Economist's* article then emphasised that boredom is the most obvious feature of life in Saudi Arabia – and solving that may be

[24]Paul Martin, "Pressure from the Left", *The Times*, 28 September 1970. Note, however, that other authorities refer to the tribes as making up only 15-20 per cent of the country's population.

[25]*The Economist*, 6 June 1970.

the most important problem the country has to face. However much oil there may be under the peninsula, it is not inexhaustible. However many expatriates may be attracted to work in the country, they are unlikely to be able to solve all its manpower problems, but if they do they will certainly create other, political and social problems. However much spin-off there may be from boredom into the craze for education, that also will not solve all the Saudi problems, especially if energies are channelled into skills not urgently needed, or if necessary skills are acquired but there is insufficient social encouragement to put them to best use.

The problems facing administrative reformers in Saudi Arabia are completely interrelated and none can be solved on its own. They may, however, for convenience here, be arranged into four problem areas.

First there is the problem of geography and political activity. Saudi Arabia is a big, empty, underdeveloped country, a mainly desert area as large as France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland combined; but there is no desire to develop it by immigration in the way that development proceded in, for example, the United States, Canada and Australia (though development experts sometimes give the impression that such western countries should be regarded as models in development). In Saudi Arabia the administrative machinery is not old and therefore in need of reform for the reasons that so much administrative reform has to be undertaken in many Western countries; it is mainly new and has been created almost from scratch within the past two decades. Nor has Saudi Arabia been previously colonised like so many other developing countries which are now seeking to reform alien methods and attitudes. Much of its reform movement is, in fact, a process of innovation – an aspect of reform that should be particularly borne in mind when new management structures are created.

To an outsider conditioned by the virtues of western democracy, it might be a matter of surprise to find such a traditionalist regime so firmly in control in the 1970s, but there are certainly no indications that the country is politically unstable in the way that political instability has occurred in many other developing countries. A visitor to the country sometimes hears criticism of inefficiency resulting from the traditionalist approaches, but though there may be some truth in such criticism, it is often made from a superficial appreciation of the situation. Little is, in fact, known outside the country about the ways in which the religious influence conditions political and administrative processes. An example will illustrate this point: a morning visitor to a senior official may find himself waiting for some time with a large number of other callers, and most of the official's morning may be taken up in receiving individuals so that little other work can be accomplished during the five or six hours of the normal working day. But if the visitor returns in the evening, when the office is closed to the public, he is likely to find the same official doing another five or six hours uninterrupted work. This may be partly because there are no "Western-style" social or entertainment distractions in the country, but it is more likely to be because the officials, who are enthusiastic and dedicated, get great satisfaction from furthering the various development projects.

Secondly, there is the nature of Saudi Arabia's free economy. The government is wedded to what it regards as the ideals of a free economy, partly as a reaction to the socialist regimes of neighbouring states; though it is a curious sort of free economy. Public policies are being deliberately evolved to increase economic and social welfare which contribute significantly to the social and political order, simply because the country's income is so directly related to the expanding oil revenues. However much the government may believe in a free economy, it in fact has a dominant and unavoidable role in determining economic development[26], for it has a comfortable budgetary surplus and is the source of most economic activity within the kingdom. This also means, however, that the scope of the public administration system is much wider than in most other countries.

Thirdly, problems of labour and manpower planning. Little is known for certain about the labour force in the country – though it is estimated that about one-third of the working population is employed in agriculture, one-third in the public service, and one-quarter in trade, finance, transport and services. Only 16,000 workers, or 4 per cent of the total, are employed in the oil industry. But before manpower planning can be adequately implemented (in a free economy?) there must be more reliable statistics than so far available. This means more Saudis involved in collecting and processing data – a particularly difficult task when so large a proportion of the population is nomadic – or more help from abroad. And with so much expatriate help already in the country, who knows what political and social consequences the foreign influence may have?

And fourthly, the administrative system. This is said by *The Economist* to be typical of developing countries: "Saudi desks bulge with rival reports commissioned for the same projects. The Saudis want to make sure, by checking one against the other, that there has been no trickery. Not a bad way of getting the best buy, but the delays involved in this process are immense. Just as serious a hardship is the way the civil service is overstaffed as a means of distributing wealth through salaries. An Institute of Public Administration, itself a model of how the civil service should be run, is trying to lower this mountain of cotton-wool with the help of a team from the Ford Foundation but, as elsewhere (for example in Egypt), decades must pass before there is alternative employment fit to tempt a civil servant to leave a prestigious sinecure . . ."[27]

To be fair, the *Development Plan* is not unaware of the problems. "Economic and social change", it states, "cannot be imposed on the country by the actions of the Government alone; but must come about through increasing participation of all elements in society in both the process of development and its benefits"[28]. Much more might be done if the public service could stimulate the necessary participation, but it is doubtful whether

---

[26] See D. E. Edens and W. P. Snavely, "Planning for economic development: Saudi Arabia", *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 24, 1970, pp. 17-30.

[27] *The Economist*, 6 June 1970.

[28] *Development Plan*, p. 21.

the right spirit can be induced into the service overnight. How can the attitude of the population at large be so stimulated in Saudi Arabia? How does one appropriately enliven the spirit at all levels in the public service? And what sorts of solutions can be found to Saudi Arabia's administrative reform and modernisation problems whilst maintaining the country's religious and moral values?

Local Government in West Malaysia—The Royal Commission Report

By J. H. BEAGLEHOLE

Dr. Beaglehole is a new reader in the Department of Politics, Waikato University, New Zealand.

In recent years West Malaysia has seen a rapid erosion of representative local government. The confrontation with Indonesia brought a suspension of local elections, a suspension which has not been lifted; indeed, in November 1971, following a meeting of the National Council of Local Government, it was announced that all elections to local authorities had been suspended indefinitely, and a decade has now passed since the last were held. This decision was the culmination of a series of events unrelated to confrontation, leading to the internal collapse of local government itself. In 1965 the town council of Seremban, the State Capital of Negri Sembilan, was taken over by the State government because of alleged maladministrations and malpractices[1]. This was to be the first of a succession of take-overs by state governments, the most recent case being that of Khota Bharu, Kelantan, in December 1972[2]. These developments took place largely at a time when the whole structure of local government was under review by the Royal Commission appointed in 1965[3] which finally reported four years later. The report was for some time a subject of debate within government and was not made available publicly until the end of 1971.

The decision of the National Council of Local Government in 1963 to appoint a Commission of Inquiry into local councils, followed a growing concern with weaknesses in the administration of local government in West Malaysia which was clearly reflected in press reports in the early 1960s.[4] The initial proposal was to establish a commission for inquiry only into local councils and to make recommendations as to how best their administration could be improved, but it was finally decided in October 1964 to extend the scope of the inquiry and, as a result, in 1965 a Royal Commission was appointed with much wider terms of reference. These were:

"(i) to enquire into and consider whether the continued existence of any category or categories of local authorities, particularly those local authorities in which the capital of a State is situate, serve any useful purpose.

[1] *Straits Times*, 24/7/65.

[2] *Utusan Melayu*, 26/11/71.

[3] *Report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry to investigate the Workings of Local Authorities in West Malaysia*, 1968 (to be cited as RRC).

[4] See, for example, *Straits Times*, 31/5/62; 24/7/62; 28/3/63.

(ii) to report on the foregoing matters and to make such recommendations, as in their opinion the circumstances require, taking into consideration the adequacy or otherwise of the existing laws with regard to local authorities . . ."[5]

Beginning in Kelantan in October 1965, the commission visited all the States of West Malaysia receiving both written and oral evidence, and finally submitting its report, together with volumes of evidence, in 1969.

The Structure of Local Government in West Malaysia

The present system of local government in Malaysia is mainly a result of developments since the second world war. Before the war, in the Federated and Unfederated Malay States, local authorities were established in some town areas under sanitary board legislation, and subsequently under the Town Board Enactment and similar legislation in States outside the Federation[6]. These town boards were entirely nominated bodies and all revenues were paid directly into the central treasury making these boards, in practice, departments of the State government.

The 1950s saw the establishment of the local government system in its present form when major changes were introduced laying foundations for what was then intended to be the ultimate extension of local government to the whole of Malaysia.

The Local Authorities Elections Ordinance of 1950 provided for the election of councillors to municipalities and the conversion of town boards into elected town councils. To qualify for the latter designation a town board had to have an elected majority. Most of the town boards soon became partly or wholly elected bodies and were thereby transformed into town councils. In 1954 an amendment to the old Town Boards Enactment, and adopted in the equivalent state legislation, enabled town boards and councils to retain their revenue and thus become financially autonomous.

Local government was extended outside urban areas for the first time in 1952 when the Local Councils Ordinance provided for the establishment of elected councils in rural areas. This legislation was followed by the rapid creation of local councils which was part of the new villages' programme designed to counter communist activity during the Emergency, the object being to give these new villages a sense of common purpose and participation in the political life of the newly-emerging nation of Malaysia. Unlike the town boards and town councils all local councils were fully elected bodies with complete financial autonomy and elected chairmen. In town councils, even though they were fully elected, the president was usually the district officer.

Under the 1957 Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia, responsibility for local government reverted to the States. The only forms of central

---

[5] *RRC*, p. 2.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

government control which were retained were those exercised by the federal audit department and later, by constitutional amendment, in 1960, by the National Council of Local Government. The latter has been given the "duty to formulate from time to time a national policy for the promotion, development and control of local government and for the administration of any laws relating thereto", and to give advice to the State governments on local government questions[7]. The Federal and State governments are required to follow any policies formulated by the National Council but, being a joint Federal/State body, in practice operates through State governments on the basis of co-operation and concensus.

Apart from the municipalities of Georgetown (Penang) and Malacca, the city administration of Kuala Lumpur[8] and the systems of district and rural district councils in the States of Penang and Malacca, local government in West Malaysia consists of the following authorities:[9]

Town Councils		Town Boards		Local Councils
Financially Autonomous	Non-Financially Autonomous	Financially Autonomous	Non-Financially Autonomous	Financially Autonomous
27	10	6	31	289

In contrast to the structure of local government normally found elsewhere, local government in West Malaysia does not cover the whole country, a partial exception being in the States of Malacca and Penang where district and rural councils include the whole area of those States outside the municipalities. In West Malaysia as a whole, about half the population lives within the area of local authorities, but the total area of these authorities includes only a little over 3 per cent of the country.

The Report

The report examined the problems of local government in comparative perspective identifying what it considered to be the objects of decentralisation, namely, national unity, democracy, freedom (autonomy), efficiency and socio-economic development. It recognised, however, that the relative importance of these objectives would inevitably vary from country to country. Its own view was that taking into account the ecological factors in Malaysia, the order of priorities for the goals of local government must be national unity, socio-economic development, efficiency, democracy and autonomy[10].

[7]Federatin of Malaysia, *Constitution*, Article 95A.

[8]Under the Federal Capital Act, 1960, Kuala Lumpur is administered by a Commissioner who is a body corporate, assisted by an Advisory Board the majority of whom are officials.

[9]*RRC*, Ch. VI.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 33, 47.

The commission believed, however, that these goals could be achieved only if the fundamental weaknesses of the present structure and administration of local authorities were dealt with by a total re-examination of the existing system.

Local government they stressed had been established without any serious regard for the criteria necessary for a system of viable authorities. The size, population and economic resources varied widely but in most cases, they concluded, these were insufficient to sustain an adequate scope or level of administration[11].

Moreover, the limited application of local government had involved a separate system of administration for the rural and urban areas. Given the pattern of racial settlement in Malaysia the result had been for local government to become largely governed by non-Malays – thus further highlighting the urban-rural divisions which lie at the base of Malaysia's social and political problems.

In spite of the poor resources of the majority of the local authorities, state and federal government had, in the commission's view, failed to provide the essential financial support which local authorities throughout the world today find essential. Inadequate resources and the limited scope of services provided are reflected in the inadequacy of staffing and standards of administration in local authorities, the staffing problem also being seen as related to the more general one of ineffective control. Maladministration and malpractices were attributed by the commission to the unsatisfactory machinery of control, and the insufficient effort on the part of those responsible for exercising control functions, particularly district officers and the state governments themselves[12]. Responsibility they recognised also rested with the councillors themselves. Their ignorance and lack of training in local government affairs resulted, among other things, in the failure of councillors to understand their proper role in relation to the administrator, with a consequent excessive involvement by councillors in non-policy matters. Furthermore, for a variety of social and political reasons, councillors were too often reluctant to exert their authority and secure effective implementation of the law[13].

The commission did not, however, accept the view that either the serious weaknesses of local government or the problems of national unity and development called for an abandonment of the electoral process. On the contrary it believed that if elected local authorities had an effective supporting structure of administrative personnel, finance and control, the foundations could be laid for a successful local government system.

The report recommended that elected authorities be established with boundaries co-terminous with those of each district so that, unlike the existing

[11]To take one example cited by the report; Bachok Town Council, Kelantan has a population of 2,000, an area of 0.25 sq. miles, and a revenue of M$21,515 (1965). Johore Bharu, also a Town Council, has a population of 100,000, an area of 17.5 sq. miles and an annual revenue of almost M$3 million. In the case of Local Councils, the vast majority have a population of under 3,000. *Ibid.*, p. 80; p. 83.

[12]See, in particular, the comments of the Report, *ibid.*, p. 252 and 256.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 245.

system, "every inch" of the countryside would be covered by local authorities[14] and jurisdiction of each authority would extend over the whole district[15]. In this way the new local government structure would remove two major weaknesses of the present system. Firstly, it would, by uniting both rural and urban areas for local political and administrative purposes, contribute towards the objective of national unity. The commission recognised, however, that the poverty of the rural areas, and the absence of municipal services in those areas, necessitated special provision in regard to local taxation until a proper range of services could be provided[16]. Secondly, the choice of the district as the basic unit of local government would reduce the excessive fragmentation that now exists in local government, and create areas of a size more related to the needs of development.

These proposals were, however, accompanied by recommendations for major reforms in administration, control and assistance for these new authorities.

Following closely the recommendations of the Maud Committee Report[17] with the object of ensuring co-ordination, reducing the role of committees in administration and achieving more effective control of council business, the commission proposed the establishment of a management board, and the appointment of a chief executive officer to be designated as secretary to the council[18]. In line with the Maud recommendations, the management board was to function as a kind of local government cabinet assisted by a chief administrator directly responsible to it.

The concern of the commission with the problems of control over local authorities was also reflected in its proposals for granting increased powers to the state governments by the establishment of a regional inspectorate[19] and the creation of state committees on local government with the duty of closer supervision of local authorities[20]. Limitation was also to be placed

---

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

[15] The Report recommended, however, that where a district is large in area and population, and it is found convenient to have two local authorities in that district, the State should establish two separate local authorities.

[16] This was to take the form of a nominal contribution of not less than $1 per annum in lieu of rates. The assumption of the commission was that this problem would resolve itself as development spread to the rural areas. But whether it would be politically feasible to impose taxes without giving services in the poorest areas of the country, was something that the commission did not really consider.

[17] *Report of the Committee on the Management of Local Government* (HMSO), 1967. Not only the content but the language of the recommendations clearly reflected the Maud Committee's Report. Compare especially the Commission's recommendations on the role of the Management Board and the Secretary, with pp. 42-43 and p. 47 of the Maud Committee's Report.

[18] *RRC*, p. 290.

[19] The Report proposed that the Federal Commissioner of Local Government should have an inspectorate of local government under him with regional offices throughout West Malaysia. Inspectors were to be given the power to recommend the suspension of a district council.

[20] Two States have Assistant State Secretaries of Local Government, but their work is combined with other functions, and is purely advisory. The report recommended much wider powers for State Local Government Committees, *RRC*, pp. 181-182.

on the latter's wide discretionary powers by appointing local government tribunals as appeal bodies.

The reason for the original appointment of the commission was "by and large due to the unhappy financial position obtaining in most local authorities"[21]. The majority of these councils had been granted financial autonomy which was too often understood by government as implying a financial self-sufficiency which they were unable to sustain. Apart from spasmodic and often politically-determined grants-in-aid, there had been no system of state or federal grants to assist local authorities, based on any rational assessment of needs. Many of the problems of these bodies stemmed from their weak economic basis which resulted not only in inadequate financial resources for development, but also an inability to provide the administrative personnel which these authorities clearly required. The report urged *inter alia* that all local authorities should be entitled to the payment of annual grants from the States, and specific grants from both federal and state governments. Indirect financial help should also, it argued, be provided for financially weak authorities by federal and state governments footing the bill for officers seconded by those governments to local authorities.

The financial weakness of local authorities derives not only from the poor economic base of the areas concerned, but also from the unwillingness and inability of the councils to exploit their financial resources and to impose taxation and ensure its collection[22]. The proposals for strengthening control at all levels were seen by the commission as one means of remedying this widespread problem in local government. These were accompanied by other proposals to improve the quality of administration by improving the quality of councillors, recommending minimum educational qualification for candidates in local council elections. The commission was, however, fully committed to the principle of maximum public participation in local affairs, rejecting the view that efforts should be made to de-politicise local government[23], and proposing wider opportunities for participation through the establishment of ward committees[24].

The report's recommendations, however, had wide implications affecting not only local government, but the whole system of field administration as it exists today in Malaysia. The new local councils, re-organised on the basis of district boundaries with a chief executive of senior administrative status,

---

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[22] One important aspect of the financial problem is the failure in Malaysia to conduct a revaluation of property in council areas. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247. As in the case of local government in other parts of the world, however, there is also the problem of finding additional taxable resources and the report's recommendations consisted mainly of proposals for the sharing of revenue resources of federal and state governments and/or enabling local authorities to levy taxes in fields already taxed by those levels of government.

[23] It rejected any attempt to exclude party politics from local government by, for example, the American device of non-partisan elections.

[24] The report proposed the establishment of a ward committee in every electoral ward of a district council. Members of the committee were to be selected by the council secretary to represent minority and functional interests. The ward committee was to have the right to submit recommendations to the secretary and the council.

were to be the focus of all administration in the district. If considered together with other developments now taking place in Malaysia, a decision to give full responsibility for local development administration to these councils would, in the commission's view, make the post of district officer redundant[25].

The Government's Response

In view of the wide implications of the report the government appointed a committee of officials whose terms of reference were to study the report and its implications, and to make recommendations as to which features of the report should be considered for adoption by government. The commission's report was finally laid before Parliament in February 1972, but the government's decision on local government had already been taken. When the Royal Commission was being appointed, opposition parties expressed their concern about its terms of reference which indicated the possibility of abolishing existing local authorities. Assurances were also sought that local authorities would continue to remain elected bodies[26]. Indeed, before the report reached Parliament, the government had already made its position clear, for in July 1971 the Minister of Housing and Local Government had informed members that elected local authorities were to be abolished as being "unnecessary and redundant"[27]. Reference to similar views expressed by the Prime Minister is made later in this article.

The views of the federal government were supported by the state governments in the meeting of the national council of local government in November 1971 which announced the indefinite suspension of local elections, and left it to each of the state governments to work out solutions to the problem of local government in their own states. When, therefore, the report was finally submitted to Parliament in February 1972, there was little left to discuss since the debate could have no effect on the policy of the government[28].

Local government in West Malaysia has on the whole done little to convince informed opinion that it can provide a viable alternative to district and departmental field administration. The implication of the report's analysis of the problem is in many respects, however, a valid one, namely, that local government in West Malaysia was never given a chance to succeed. Created without any serious regard for the factors of viability, denied essential financial support and without adequate control, local government in West Malaysia was bound to fail. Furthermore local government as measured by the electoral turnout has in the past attracted considerable public interest,

---

[25] "It cannot be denied that his (DO) continued existence as the main power symbol and centre has become anachronistic and not compatible with the need for local democratic institutions". *RRC*, p. 165.

[26] *Straits Times*, 1/9/65; 22/9/65.

[27] *Ibid.*, 8/7/71.

[28] The Deputy Prime Minister nevertheless explained to the Opposition during the debate that the Government "laid the Report before the House with a view to getting their co-operation, because all this while the Government was always accused of not consulting the Opposition on the matter". *Ibid.*, 12/2/72.

and it can be argued that some of the weaknesses of local government have arisen from the failure to hold elections in the last ten years[29].

The response of the Royal Commission was that the solution lay in an attempt to remedy the serious defects of local government by a major overhaul of the system. Why did the government reject this solution?

In order to understand the government's position it is essential to realise the changes that have taken place since the Royal Commission was appointed. The troubles of May 1969, the top priority given to the socio-economic objectives of the Second Malaysia Plan and revival of communist activity, meant that the report was drawn up in conditions very different from those existing in the country at the time when it came to be considered by Government.

The government undoubtedly received conflicting advice. A majority of the committee set up to examine the report seem with some qualifications to have favoured the adoption of the main recommendations[30], but others within the administration strongly urged their rejection. The latter felt that the implementation of the commission's proposals at this stage was contrary to the national interest, and that the commission had ignored its own order of priorities in subordinating the needs of national unity and development to the pursuit of democratic objectives. Given the delicate political-economic position in the country, and the problems of post-May 1969, it was felt by some that this was not a time for major experiments which might affect the balance of urban-rural power and weaken the executive authority at the district level[31].

It is very difficult to judge how far Government was influenced by these particular arguments, but in public statements it has tended to place emphasis on the failure of local government in its present form, and to express doubts about the viability of three-tiers of elected government in West Malaysia. The general position of the Government was explained by the Prime Minister in Parliament as early as July 1971: "It has become clear to us, after having examined the position over the last twenty years, that with the existence of elected local authorities this small country of ours has in fact been over governed . . .

"It is quite clear to us in the Government that it would be a waste of time, money and resources for elections to be conducted at this level when there is full opportunity for the people to participate in the Government during elections at the State and national levels.

---

[29]In the local authority elections held in 1963 the voting percentage was 75 per cent. *RRC*, p. 117.

[30]Although there was unanimous rejection of the suggestion that the District Officer had outlived his usefulness.

[31]In particular the fear expressed in some quarters that the changes proposed by the commission would result in urban non-Malay predominance over the Malay rural areas. This would not necessarily follow however if the principle of "weighting" was applied to rural constituencies in local government as operates at present in the case of State Assembly and Parliamentary constituencies.

"With a very few exceptions the elected local authorities have not worked well. There has been no improvement over the years – and if at all, things have gone from bad to worse"[32].

The treatment of local authorities by federal and state governments, however, has often been seen in party political terms. The interpretation of the government's decision as being largely dictated by party interest was bluntly stated by some sections of the Opposition in the debate in Parliament in February 1972. Opposition members expressed the view that the continued suspension of local government elections, and what they described as breaches of faith and procrastination, reflected the fears of the Alliance government that it would lose elections in most of the local authorities were they held[33]. As all state governments except one[34] are effectively Alliance controlled, and the opposition has had substantial success in previous local authority elections, in terms of comparative advantage the substitution of elected by nominated councils or some alternative system will benefit the Alliance and enable the latter to ensure effective executive control at the local level.

The fact remains, however, that the problem would never have arisen in the first place had local government not been in the doldrums, and the evidence so far available indicates that the changes that have been made are making possible a more efficient and purposeful administration at the local level[35]. In view of the priority now being given to socio-economic development in general, and in the urban areas in particular, some drastic improvement was called for in urban government. Given the present government priorities, and the commitment to an administrative solution of political problems which has become a well-established feature of Malaysian political culture, it was unlikely that government would risk the major structural changes proposed by the commission.

The advice given to government was one of absolute alternatives. The commission proposed radical changes which amounted to the abolition of the existing system of field administration, and opposing opinion tended to

---

[32] *Straits Times*, 20/7/71.

[33] See "Abolition of Local Council Elections – A Step Towards Totalitarianism", *The Rocket*, Vol. 7, No. 1.

[34] In the case of the one exception, Kelantan, all town councils have Alliance majorities. In interviews with Alliance councillors in Kelantan, however, the writer found a wide measure of agreement with the abolition of elected councils even though the Alliance would be the chief losers. From December 1st 1971, Kota Bharu, the State capital, reverted to town board status and became a fully-nominated body. The majority of the council consists of non-official members but all the departments concerned with administration in the urban area are represented. Although the majority of non-official members are supporters of Partai Islam in a previously Alliance-dominated council, the Alliance is also well represented. Members have clearly been chosen with the object of representing political and functional groups and people with experience in administration. For the changes, see Negri Kelantan, *Warta Keraajan*, 9/12/71.

[35] On the basis of the writer's own observation of developments in Kota Bharu, the take-over by the State government has undoubtedly brought a change of mood and positive action in urban administration in the State capital. For an account of development see *Majallah Kelantan*, Jan., Feb., 1972.

be equally uncompromising. The Malaysian government, however, gives the impression that it is still uncertain as to what is for the best with regard to local government, and it is not yet clear that the commission's proposals have been entirely rejected. At the present time West Malaysia is experimenting, and we will probably see a variety of solutions as each state tries to find a way out of the present predicament. One clear trend, however, is that state governments have begun to accept that local authorities need substantial financial help[36]. It is also possible that the district may become the unit of government for some kind of representative body, although this will be a nominated not an elected authority[37]. The overall effect of changes of that kind would be to strengthen the position of the district officer. The future of local authorities may well depend, however, on the results of a number of other important developments taking place in the whole shape of field administration in West Malaysia, which may affect not only the structure of local government but the older more established system of district administration itself.

[36]See, for example, reports of large grants for councils from the State governments of Johore and Trengganu in *Utusan Melayu*, 14/3/72, and *Utusan Zaman*, 27/2/72. The fact that this aid is not dictated solely by party interests is shown in the unprecedented help that is to be given by the Federal government to Kelantan for the development of Kota Bharu.

[37]It is possible that in Kelantan the local councils in a district will be absorbed in a district local authority headed by the district officer, with perhaps the town council retaining its separate identity, but "under" to one of the district administrators. However, at the moment, the only changes introduced have been in Kota Bharu. In Johore it seems that the State government proposes to abolish local councils and hand them over directly to the district office in cases where the government is not satisfied with their standards of administration. *Utusan Melayu*, 17/3/72.

The Kenya Special Rural Development Programme

By J. W. LEACH

From 1968 to 1973 Mr. Leach was Co-ordinator of Rural Development Projects, attached to the Kenya Ministry of Finance and Planning.

THIS article outlines the genesis and development of the Kenya Special Rural Development Programme up to March 1973, and attempts an assessment of its progress and payoffs for the benefit of a wider audience than officials of the Kenya Government. The writer takes a positive view of the potential importance of this Programme not only within Kenya but, in a more general way, for other parts of the developing world. He would like, at the outset, to pay the highest tribute to the Kenyan politicians, officials and farmers who, above all, deserve the most credit for what has been achieved so far. He trusts that any criticisms that appear in this article will be taken in the constructive spirit in which they are offered, for the development of the rural areas of Kenya is the primary objective of all those connected with this programme.

A conference was held at Kericho in Kenya, in October 1966, to discuss education, employment and rural development. The report of this conference still, in 1973, gives an accurate picture of the general direction of thought on rural development in Kenya. Many excellent conclusions were reached and recommendations of a general nature made. As usual it proved difficult to devise specific follow-up action programmes. So much had already been achieved in the rural areas of Kenya, and there were innumerable rural development programmes and projects at different stages of planning or implementation. It was not at all clear that there was any special need for new initiatives, changes of direction or new emphases, and indeed, there were considerable reservations in many quarters about the need for such a programme at all. In this situation, a formula was evolved to develop an experimental programme to try out ideas and procedures for accelerating rural development: the programme was to probe and serve as a catalyst for the formulation of specific rural development policies and programmes. There were no preconceived ideas as to what shape or direction the programme should take, and the general attitude was one of suspended judgement – to wait and see whether such a programme would throw up anything useful. There was no strong political drive or backing. Tom Mboya, then Minister of Economic Planning and Development, was definitely interested, but the subject was not discussed in Parliament or at ministerial level. The Kenya Special Rural Development Programme was initiated in this somewhat hazy situation. The lack of high-level initial direction and commitment was the root cause of the difficulties that the programme encountered from mid-1970 onwards.

Left to make its own running, the programme developed quite fast under the overall direction of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. A small team of technical assistance personnel was assembled to serve as a nucleus for the operation until it could be seen, in the light of experience gained, what type of more permanent institutional base, if any, might be required. The first decision was to select a number of areas in the country in which pilot experiments would be undertaken. The assistance of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Nairobi was requested to suggest criteria for the selection of such areas. The IDS team charged with this task, had earlier contributed a large number of ideas on pilot projects. They now prepared proposals for a Rural Survey to be conducted in the selected areas, the findings of which would serve as the basis of action programmes. A small working party was formed with Government and University representation which guided the selection of 14 areas in the country and approved the outlines of the Survey. Finally, the Survey was carried out between June and September 1968. The Survey Report did not appear in print until June 1971 but the material upon which the Report was based was used immediately in Government circles for the preparation of action programmes.

It took 20 months, from November 1968 to June 1970, to prepare detailed, costed plans for the first phase of the Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP). First the overall scope, objectives and structure of the programme had to be drawn up and approved, followed by outline 5-year programmes for the selected areas, and finally the annual budget for the first year's operations had to be approved by the Treasury and included in the annual estimates. The objectives of the programme were officially described as follows:

> "The primary objective is to increase rural incomes and employment opportunities. The secondary objective is to establish procedures and techniques for accelerated and self-generating rural development which can be repeated in other similar areas and, in particular, to improve the developmental capacity of Kenya Government officials in this field."

The programme was to consist of integrated development programmes for an initial period of 5 years for 14 areas, selected to provide a representative cross section of levels and problems of development in smallholder farming areas of Kenya, executed in two phases. Area programmes would aim at making better use of existing resources, at identifying and concentrating on gaps in development and at experimenting with new ideas and projects. A National Rural Development Committee was formed to co-ordinate the programme and to negotiate external assistance. Its members were the Permanent Secretaries of the Office of the President, of Finance and Planning, of Agriculture and of such other ministries as were concerned at each meeting. Each ministry was to be responsible for its own sector of each area programme. Co-ordination in the field would be the responsibility of the Provincial and District Development Committees.

With the general shape of the scheme decided, the critical task of preparing the field action programmes began. In practice it proved extremely hard to

secure proposals either from field or headquarters staff which complied with the multiple objectives of the SRDP and the conditions imposed. Senior staff at ministry headquarters were ultra-cautious about using the SRDP as a vehicle for trying out new ideas or new programmes, and their caution was reflected in the attitude of the field staff towards any experiments which did not relate to their own particular interests. However, the National Rural Development Committee secretariat and IDS personnel put out a steady stream of ideas and, by a slow process of discussion, visits, and seminars, action programmes of varying quality for the six first-phase areas gradually emerged.

It was at this stage that the SRDP began to run into real difficulties. It was to be expected that an experimental programme of this type which was deliberately operating within the normal framework of government organisation would progress slowly; it had not, however, been anticipated how difficult it would be to convince senior officials of the potential value of the operation. The immediate result was a delay of six months – till January 1971 – in implementing the scheme, because Treasury approval was not forthcoming. The longer-term results were a lack of direction and punch which made it difficult to break bottlenecks at ministry headquarters, particularly over the release of funds and the supply of recources. It was difficult at first to counteract what we took to be a lack of interest at headquarters in what was happening on the ground, as there were few tangible results to point to – references to staff support achievements were counter-productive, and construction works did not require a special programme to justify them. It became even more difficult to justify the programme when, in December 1972, the IDS produced a report which questioned the experimental value of the majority of work done till then.

And yet, by December 1972, there were in fact considerable achievements to record. In the 6 first-phase areas, there were a total of 123 sub-programmes, broken down into direct production 34, production infrastructure 51, social infrastructure 37 and administrative infrastructure 1. After 18 months running, this showed a substantial improvement in the Government's capacity to plan and implement development at the local level. It was not yet possible to quantify improvement in rural incomes, employment and standards of living: indeed, it seemed likely that such improvements would be extremely hard to measure at any time, let alone to attribute them to certain specific actions. Yet all this activity was directed towards the smallholder farmer and the small rural entrepreneur and could not fail to have some effect on their conditions.

In terms of experimentation and innovation the programme had been utilised as a testing ground for the following new national programmes – rural industrial development, planning for better family living, functional literacy, rural afforestation, and, partially, for village polytechnics and rural housing. The following new projects had been conceived and started in the pilot areas – short term crop credit, stockists input credit, pilot agricultural extension and training, agriservice station and agriservice centres, tea planting credit, vegetable production and marketing, community

co-operative ranches, livestock marketing, pilot family planning, rural access roads units and soil conservation development – to mention the most promising of 26 types of new project.

There was, however, much more to the programme than these individual projects: it was beginning to come to grips with the fundamental organisational bottlenecks which so often hinder effective rural development. The decision, taken at the outset, to work through existing Government machinery, had important beneficial results. Since there was no possibility of extensive decentralisation or devolution, efforts were concentrated on improving intercommunication between the centre and the field. Experience in planning and implementation led to an increasingly clear realisation that intercommunication was a better watchword than decentralisation. Central officials have much to offer from their greater experience, wider knowledge of national issues and control over resources, while they lack detailed local knowledge (many have never served in the field, and it is surprising how soon those who have, lose the field "touch" and sensitivity). Field officers often have excellent ideas to offer, are in touch with local needs and conditions and are willing to devote much time and energy to development if they are offered a real chance to contribute their views and to achieve results in their areas. On the other hand, field officials often lack experience, and their outlook tends to be shortsighted, sometimes even selfish, and parochial. It was found, for example, that field officials could not, even after two years, produce good project plans, let alone comprehensive area plans, without a great deal of direction and guidance from wider looking, more experienced, centrally-based officers.

From this situation developed what became the most important new initiative of the whole programme – a prototype Rural Management System. This system, and thoughts arising from it, will be described in a forthcoming book entitled "Managing Rural Development", by Robert Chambers and Deryke Belshaw. The Kenya prototype consisted of six parts, given the following titles:

1. Programming Implementation Management.
2. Field Staff Management.
3. Local Participation Procedures.
4. Evaluation Review Sequence.
5. Research and Development.
6. Plan Formulation Procedures.

The first and fourth parts of the system were developed empirically and arose from the need to supervise and control this experimental programme carefully from the centre and to evaluate what it was achieving. What began as a reporting system, however, developed first, and most importantly, into a management system, and later into the beginnings of a potentially valuable and effective rural planning mechanism. Each part of the system deals with an important aspect of rural development. The first, and most important part, Programming Implementation Management (PIM), provides the base for the other 5 and lays down procedures for annual programming,

monitoring, reporting and "bottleneck-breaking". This procedure was built around another innovation – the appointment of administrative officers as area co-ordinators, who became prototype district development officers. The experiment provided a most useful opportunity to work out the functions and responsibilities of this new cadre of officers. It was found that the PIM system was the most effective single mechanism for mobilising field staff and improving their performance. The great advantage of the system is that it provides the right kind of incentive and spur to jog a lazy or indifferent officer, as well as encouragement to a keen and conscientious one. No formula is foolproof, and no absurd claims are made on behalf of this one. It is believed however, that it does provide positive incentives for improved efficiency and effectiveness.

The second and third parts of the system were extensions of the PIM, Field Staff Management applying to agricultural field staff and Local Participation Procedures to social development staff. This latter part had only been sketched out in general terms by March 1973, but the basic ideas were there to be developed. Closely connected with this development of local participation procedures were the considerable achievements in the six SRDP areas in redefining and reshaping the functions and responsibilities of the Department of Social Services. In this field, also, the SRDP had served an important catalytic function. It remains to be seen whether the ideas and suggestions which were thrown up will be seriously considered and acted upon.

The Field Staff Management System proved to be one part of the SRDP's contribution to tackling organisational problems with the Ministry of Agriculture. Staff connected with the SRDP also made important contributions to the Ministry's review of its Extension Services, and drew conclusions from the agricultural sector projects in the pilot areas for application to general ministry programmes throughout the country.

Evaluation of such a complicated and diverse programme was always, and continues to be, a major problem. The University was commissioned to provide this service but its first report, which was extremely critical, had no more success in achieving practical results than the reports of the programme managers. The evaluation procedures built into the Management System were another attempt, from within the System, to provide the data from which an evaluation could be carried out. A start was made in this direction at the end of 1972. In addition field officers were taught to plough back the lessons they had learnt and the recommendations they had made into their programming of the subsequent year's work programmes.

Detailed procedures for research and development had not yet been worked out. A promising experiment was the formation of a research committee in one of the SRDP areas to pool existing knowledge and ideas and apply them to the development of the area. Here at least was the beginning of a practical attempt to apply the results of research to the realities of field development, and it provided a means of encouraging new ideas and initiatives. In its evaluation report of December 1972, the IDS made a strong

recommendation in favour of the continuance of an SRDP type of organisation on a permanent basis as a Research and Development Unit within Government. This suggestion has not yet been taken up by the Government which, it is to be hoped, will not allow itself to be prevailed upon to turn it down.

It is significant that Plan Formulation Procedures came last, not, as is usually the case, first. It became increasingly clear that more could be achieved by starting with existing projects and programmes than by attempting to plan new projects *ab initio*. As momentum was gained, ideas were continuously generated, and so new projects came into existence. The best sub-projects were those which developed out of existing schemes. Repeated attempts to detail, and later to recast, comprehensive 5-year plans for each area were largely unsuccessful. What began as necessity came to be accepted as wise in principle – the drafting of a strategy paper for 5 years in broad outline, and then the making of annual action programmes. Each successive year's plan was built on the experience gained in the current year, and this was, with increasing effect, brought to light through the management procedures.

The SRDP made a valuable contribution in the field of training by providing examples of on-the-job training at national and field level. This was carried out in a carefully organised series of programme-orientated seminars and workshops which were yet another example of the links which are an extremely important element in rural development. These seminars were essential to the planning and execution of ongoing action in the pilot areas, but they also served a vital purpose in giving instruction and motivation to field officers, as well as being a medium of information for a wider audience.

External assistance played an important role in the mounting of the SRDP. Given the decision to work within the Kenya Government machinery, expatriate staff were often placed in a difficult position. On the one hand, it was a primary objective that Kenyans should run the programme. On the other hand, if action upon which success depended was not forthcoming from responsible Kenyan officials, what was the expatriate to do? The donor agencies were meticulous in observing the spirit of the agreements entered into, even at the risk of partial failure and certainly of delay. In return, they gained exceptionally valuable experience in a programme which was in fact being operated at all levels by Kenyan officials. They also learnt what results can be achieved when external aid is given to cover local costs without insistence on the use of manpower or materials from the donor country. They saw that ideas and expertise, transmitted with sensitivity and tact, can be more important in rural development than large sums of capital aid and expert missions producing weighty reports. In this connection the flexible financing formula which was devised proved to be a most important ingredient of the programme's success in introducing innovations. The normal machinery of ministry financing was used, which automatically ensured ministry involvement and a revelation of organisational deficiences, but SRDP funds were kept separate from other development funds thus facilitating diagnosis and remedial action if things began to go wrong.

Some Conclusions

The programme has not only proved that it is possible to prepare, within the existing Government structure, area-based plans which can be, and are being, implemented on the ground: it has also revealed many of the gaps in development and deficiencies in the Government's administrative machinery, and has pointed the way towards making good such deficiencies. If there is one general conclusion which can be drawn, it is that a critical factor at all levels is the ability to convert into effective action the many good ideas and projects which "stick" at one stage or another.

Rural development is an enormous and complex subject which defies succinct definition and cannot offer precise prescriptions for such perennial, vexed and tangled problems as rural-urban migration, unemployment and the school leaver problem, improving the lot of the "laggard" peasant farmer at the lowest levels of subsistence, increased population pressure on scarce land or in arid or semi-arid areas. While the search for technical breakthroughs should continue unceasingly, it is unlikely that such problems will be solved in a swift and tidy way: it is more realistic to hope for marginal and spasmodic improvements through a whole series of different initiatives. In these circumstances, efforts to evolve mechanisms to mobilise initiatives and to release latent resources of talent, energy and enthusiasm probably have a considerable pay-off in the long-term of national development. It is believed that the SRDP has made a good start in pioneering such a process. By March 1973 the Government of Kenya had succeeced in mounting five-year development programmes in 6 areas, and, in the process, it had galvanised the field administration, introduced a prototype rural management system, started 26 innovative or experimental projects, and pin-pointed many glaring deficiencies in central-local relationships.

From all this activity it is possible to draw a number of further conclusions. The effort and delay inherent in working through the existing machinery is more than counter-balanced by the long-term gain of development organised from within a country's own institutions, especially since this leads to in-service training. But the mere fact that a programme is embedded in a country's own machinery does not mean that all doors automatically open. It is SRDP experience that the most intractable problems are lack of understanding and commitment and administrative delays at the centre – not in the field. Right up to March 1973 it remained an unsolved problem of those immediately responsible for the programme to convince policy-makers that worthwhile goals were being achieved, that there was potential for further achievement or that they should look seriously at the stumbling-blocks which had been revealed and at recommendations for their removal. The next three years will prove whether the exciting possibilities opened up by this programme are seized and acted upon, or whether another "good idea" joins the great host of might-have-beens.

As this account indicates, a multitude of lessons and conclusions can be drawn from experience to date. To this extent the programme has already achieved its objective of serving as a catalyst for ideas and experimentation. But all this activity will be valueless unless some practical use is made of

these ideas and of the lessons learnt. There is a considerable body of reports and these, and the experience of a number of individuals, both Kenyan and expatriate, in this programme, should be made known to others in the developing world who are interested in the problems of rural development and how to tackle them.

The Rejuvenation of Public Administration in Developing Countries

By ROSAMUND M. THOMAS

Miss Thomas is currently undertaking advanced research at the Institute of Local Government Studies in Birmingham University, following a year of research at Harvard University in 1972-1973.

Though the dawn has been clouded and goals cannot be easily defined, the vitality of country development depends on the rejuvenation of public administration even in the darkness of insufficient knowledge and experience.

—EVANGELOS JOHN RIZOS[1]

Evangelos John Rizos reminds us that the vitality of development administration depends upon its rejuvenation. In this article, the author suggests guidelines for the rejuvenation of public administration in developing countries. These guidelines are based on the vital elements of innovation and sensitivity towards societal values, which are often missing from development administration. First, however, the views of modern theorists on the nature of development administration are summarised and the relevance of adopting Western principles of administration is discussed.

What are the Goals of Development Administration and How is the Term Defined?

Several modern theorists have approached development administration from the viewpoint of its goals. M. J. Esman, for example, has identified two basic inter-related aims of contemporary public policy in developing, or transitional, countries as:

(1) nation-building

(2) socio-economic progress

Nation-building, Esman conceives as the creation of a political community in which the nation-state is the dominant political institution and socio-economic progress as the improvement in material and social welfare. Esman goes further by subdividing these two broad goals into twelve minor goals, which include:

> achieving security against external aggression and maintaining internal order; creating a responsive relationship between the governing elite and the community; developing skilled techniques among the agricultural masses

---

[1]Evangelos John Rizos, "Country Development, the New Ethic of Public Administration". Article in *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 31, 1965, No. 4.

by special training; mobilising savings for capital expenditure on development and formulating investment programmes for savings; and securing participation by the community in nation-building[2].

Other theorists adopt similar approaches. J. D. Montgomery has confirmed that economic and social development are the two objectives of the majority of developing countries. He proceeds to define development administration as "carrying out planned change in the economy (in agriculture or industry, or the capital infrastructure supporting either of these) and, to a lesser extent, in the social services of the state (especially education and public health)"[3].

Still from the viewpoint of goals, D. C. Stone introduces a wider concept of development administration by drawing attention to humane social relations. His breadth of vision is welcome, for too often in the stampede for industrialisation human values are overlooked. Stone defines development administration as "the process of formulating and implementing plans, policies, programmes, and projects, and of inducing change in people's attitudes and behaviour toward life, education and work with the purpose of creating a dynamic and progressive society through the application of modern technology, and hopefully, humane social relations. The development of an entire society – rural and urban, private and public is entailed, and many different decisions and activities calling on many kinds of people are involved"[4].

From the above goals and definitions, it is apparent that development administration transcends the concept of public administration prevailing in Western nations[5].

What is the Government's Role in the Process of Development?

In developing countries, considerable governmental intervention is required to effect major change. Administering development in transitional countries is more than merely regulating an economy in which private enterprise plays a large role; it is the creation of a new kind of economy. Whatever the final balance between public and private enterprise, it is the State which has to provide the initial impetus. Furthermore, government assistance is needed to cope with the technical problems involved in bringing about socio-economic change. The ability of governments to carry out these tasks depends on the formulation of development plans, which entails detailed information, when available, about the country's natural resources, its productive capacities, manpower, employment characteristics, foreign trade, taxation policies, capital formation, the educational system, habits

---

[2]M. J. Esman, "The Politics of Development Administration" contained in J. D. Montgomery and W. J. Siffin (ed.) *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change*, New York, McGraw-Hill (1966), pp. 59-64.

[3]J. D. Montgomery's "A Royal Invitation: Variations on Three Classic Themes" contained in J. D. Montgomery and W. J. Siffin (ed.). *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[4]D. C. Stone, "Guide Lines for Training Development Administrators". Article in *Journal of Administration Overseas* (JAO), Vol. V, 1966.

[5]J. D. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

of the people, deficiencies in private and public institutions and the like. But development plans are not the only medium by which governments realise their development goals. Government action can be involved in three distinct directions:

(1) through governmental action programmes;
(2) indirectly through the formal bureaucracy's influence on local traditional leaders and special interest groups outside specific action programmes;
(3) through ideology and doctrine which can change laws, family relationships and attitudes[6].

Faced with this complex role, government officials find that the administrative structures, effective in agrarian society with a slow pace of economic and social change, are no longer appropriate for countries embarking on development[7]. Even the more efficient administrations created under colonial rule to preserve law and order prove inadequate in dealing with the problems of newly-independent countries. What, then, is required if public administrators are to achieve their role of effecting the rapid transition from traditional to modern society? F. W. Riggs, aware that bureaucratic behaviour can be habitual, involving unquestioning repetition of patterns of precedent, suggests an answer – the need for a departure from an established pattern of action[8]. In other words, innovation by public servants, coupled with a sensitivity towards societal values.

Is it Wise to Model Bureaucratic Organisations in Developing Countries on Western Principles of Administration, Irrespective of the Differing Environments?

Bearing in mind the need for innovation by public servants and sensitivity towards societal values, should bureaucratic organisations in developing countries be modelled on Western principles of administration? Two schools of thought divide regarding the soundness of promoting the traditional Weberian approach to public administration in developing countries. A. H. Hanson has spoken for the first school by regarding administrative inefficiency as an obstacle to economic development. Hanson visualises a body of honest, educated and adequately-paid public servants as a vital asset to governments undertaking development programmes. Senior officials, he has suggested, must know how to plan, co-ordinate, execute and adjust, while subordinates must have acquired at least some "Western" techniques. Hanson favours rationalisation of administrative organisation and a system of recruitment and promotion devoid of familiar abuses of nepotism and influence[9].

---

[6] J. D. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
[7] A. H. Hanson, *Public Enterprise and Economic Development*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. (1959), p. 52.
[8] F. W. Riggs, "Administrative Development: An Elusive Concept", contained in J. D. Montgomery and W. J. Siffin (ed.). *Op. cit.*, p. 228.
[9] A. H. Hanson. *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

J. La Palombara, on the other hand, staunchly supports the second school of thought which questions the validity of such attributes as hierarchy, rationality and specialisation for nations undergoing rapid change. He defends developing nations against critics who suggest that a public administration sector not manifesting these qualities is an ineffective instrument for the realisation of the economic, social and political change associated with modernity. F. W. Riggs takes this argument further by proposing that during nation-building a developing political party may need spoils, since a bureaucratic system based on merit risks to increase bureaucratic power and so hinder political institutional development in the early stages of a party system[10].

Before taking sides for or against either school of thought, the question of the differing environments in which public administration operates must be considered. Some transitional societies are still influenced by traditional administrative methods belonging to tribal or peasant societies, in which a chief and his family, or other leaders, combine religious and economic functions. Where this occurs, how effective is the Weberian principle of specialisation? The result is that specialisation within bureaucracies in many transitional societies is contrary to Weber's ideal. Instead of professional or expert officials operating at routine levels, bureaucrats are motivated by lingering traditional values of personal security on a family or other communal basis and not by the urge for individual advancement[11]. Is specialisation even desirable? Where national integration is the aim of developing nations, split by social and political forces, the functional expert, narrow in vision, is liable to divide the organisation by his specialism[12]. General administration, conversely, could unite the system. Some functional expertise, however, is a pre-requisite where programmes of economic development are involved, but are developing nations with limited skills and resources able to afford the kind of specialisation prevailing in Western bureaucracies? Guy Hunter, in an article entitled *Development Administration in East Africa* is wary of "borrowed experts" from industrialised nations who recommend to financially-poor African nations, systems reflecting the sophistication of their own country. After the withdrawal of "borrowed experts", Hunter argues, African countries face the financial burden of an over-specialised administrative system[13].

Was Hanson correct in advocating for developing countries the Western principle of egalitarian recruitment to the civil service by merit, replacing traditional systems based on ascriptive criteria? It has been argued that this action can lead to the reduced status of public servants, from which

---

[10]See J. LaPalombara, "An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development", contained in J. LaPalombara (ed.), *Bureaucracy and Political Developmet*, Princeton University Press (1967), pp. 12-13.

[11]J. D. Montgomery. *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

[12]F. Morstein Marx, "The Higher Civil Service as an Action Group in Western Political Development", contained in J. LaPalomara (ed.). *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

[13]Guy Hunter, "Development Administration in East Africa". Article in *Journal of Administration Overseas* (JAO), Vol. VI, 1967.

La Palolombara draws the conclusion that where a particular developing country is highly class-conscious, the bureaucracy as a political stabiliser would be undermined[14].

Again, how wise is it to adopt the Western principle of separating the professional administrative class from the political power? F. W. Riggs claims that this Western ideal, now introduced in most developing countries, was put forward because no alternative models existed. He has suggested that modern bureaucratic structures in many developing countries are merely facades, beneath which elements of the old traditional systems still operate[15]. Often, in practice, political power is not distinct from administrative power; instead, some institutions are divided by a top hierarchy of officials who assume the political role and a middle-lower hierarchy of civil servants who exercise administrative functions. Further, there are disadvantages in isolating public policy problems from the highly educated senior civil servants, utilising their ability for policy implementation only. Such a preparation is likely to waste the skills of educated bureaucrats and in countries in which the economy is in the hands of the public sector, is such an aim even attainable?[16]

Handicaps to Development Administration

Some arguments for and against the general adoption of Western principles of public administration in developing countries have been stated. From these arguments, handicaps to development administration can be identified. First, within the civil service, certain Western principles conflict with traditional methods of administration. Selection and promotion by merit oppose principles of loyalty and ascription; demands for nepotism compete with pressures for efficiency; civil service recruits from the new social classes tend to favour modern procedures whilst conservative public officials seek to preserve vested interests. In such conditions, the goals of public administration become obscured.

Secondly, outside the civil service, a public official may find himself in conflict with political ministers. Civil servants have difficulty in rendering loyalty to politicians who often possess less formal education; they resent being subordinate to political superiors. Politicians, on the other hand, fear civil servants will sabotage their plans or over-exercise their new authority. In parts of the West Indies, friction and mutual suspicion between political ministers and career civil servants presented barriers to development and lowered the morale within the civil service[17].

---

[14]J. LaPalombara, "An Overview of Bureaucracy and Political Development", contained in J. LaPalombara (ed.). *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

[15]F. W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society*, Boston, USA, Houghton Miffin Co. (1964), pp. 11-12.

[16]J. LaPalombara, "Bureaucracy and Political Development: Notes, Queries and Dilemmas", contained in J. LaPalombara. *Op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

[17]G. E. Mills, "Education and Training for the Public Service in The West Indies". Article in *Journal of Administration Overseas* (JAO), Vol. V, 1966.

Thirdly, and again outside the civil service, another type of conflict is that which separates the public servant from the people. Indigenous civil servants, despite their advantage over colonial administrators of sharing common values and languages with the rural masses, are often reluctant to bridge ethnic and educational differences of communities outside their community of origin[18]. Barriers between bureaucrats and peasants are enlarged by the higher living standards enjoyed by senior officials at the secretariat, who may become desensitised to the urgent requirements of the agricultural community.

It is evident that the direct application of Weberian principles to development administration, without taking into account the individual circumstances of developing countries, can increase the problems of government. Conflicts are created, within and outside the public service, which sap the energies of civil servants and hamper their efforts to administer with initiative. Yet, a public service that does not move towards greater efficiency, honesty and fair standards of selection and promotion in its administration will be unable to set the necessary example of "development" and "progress" to the citizens it serves. What, then, is the answer to the rejuvenation of administration in developing countries? It is not the introduction *per se* of Western principles of public administrations; it is the re-examination of each civil service to provide outlets for innovation in public administration, appropriate to its *individual* environment.

Guidelines for the Rejuvenation of Public Administration in Developing Countries

The rejuvenation of development administration requires more than the definition of its two broad goals of nation-building and socio-economic progress; more than the subdivision of these two broad goals into twelve specific tasks, as Esman has done; more than the acknowledgment of the government's role in this process of change; more than a mere statement that innovative administration is essential. The rejuvenation of public administration in developing countries needs an *individual* approach; an assessment of *how* in each country innovation can replace conflicts, routine behaviour, over-emphasis on control, failure to meet development plan goals, and other impediments to successful development administration. Each public service must analyse *why* its public servants are not the innovators they should be. The following guide could be applied:

Societal Values

(a) Has the public service indentified those societal values which form the very character of its country and should be *preserved* in the process of change?

(b) Has the public service separated the societal values to be preserved from those which impede nation-building and socio-economic progress and which should be *replaced* by values more useful to twentieth-century modernisation?

---

[18]J. O'Connell, "Politicians, Administrators and the Problems of Modernisation". Article in *Journal of Administration Overseas* (JAO), Vol. VI, 1967.

(c) Is the public service aware of how the people of their country feel about industrialisation? Is it alive to the traditions and values which are dear to the citizens and which may be jeopardised in the cause of development? Has the government given the people opportunities to express a viewpoint, both individually and collectively through its traditional leaders, voluntary associations or local government? Does the public service appreciate the degree of sensitivity required in the preservation and replacement of societal values? The zest of politicians and top administrators for *short-term* goals can endanger the *continued* existence of valued cultural assets. A civil service which adopts a "bull-dozer" approach to administration by "out-of-touch" centralised methods risks, in the name of development, to uproot satisfying craftsmanship, undermine religious peace, damage the environment with material constructions out of character with the landscape and the like.

Principles of Development Administration

(a) Has the public service adopted Western principles of public administration suitable to its *stage* of development and its available manpower and financial resources? Or, has it over-stressed, for example, specialisation and the separation of politics from administration?

(b) Has the public service succeeded in creating an internal "spirit" of administration which could unify its members against the "pull" of inappropriate values?

(c) Has the public service created external conflicts by administering from "above", and keeping itself isolated from public opinion? Does it make field experience part of the training of urban civil servants to acquaint them with current rural conditions?

(d) Has the public service examined the structure of its bureaucracy? Does it retain too much of its original form developed for control purposes? Could it introduce, as Guy Hunter has suggested, greater financial freedom in some cases to allow for more initiative?[19]

Development Plans

(a) Has the public service been too ambitious in its development planning? Have the goals and time-schedules been relevant to the extent of foreign aid, national resources and the well-being of the country?

(b) Has the public service provided opportunities for the people in rural areas to participate in development? Or, are public servants seeking, mainly, to indoctrinate the people with their own values, making development decisions a matter of imposition rather than voluntary participation?

The rejuvenation of public administration in developing countries requires three types of behaviour by public servants. First, it demands an enthusiastic attempt to gain the goodwill and support of the people towards the *mutual* goals of nation-building and socio-economic progress. It is essential that this

[19]Guy Hunter. *Op. cit.*

arousal of a national "spirit" for development is based on worthwhile goals. The people need to see where it is necessary to lose some traditions in the name of beneficial progress, but they must feel confident that their traditions are not being unnecessarily abandoned by political leaders or development administrators.

Secondly, the rejuvenation of public administration needs a civil service which strives for improved, but *appropriate* principles and methods of administration, which set an example of ethical standards in administration as well as material targets of modernisation? Thirdly, *realistic* development plans are required, bearing in mind the long-term progress of the nation.

The foregoing guidelines have been suggested for consideration by both public servants in developing countries for self-examination and by political leaders with ministerial responsibility for national development. Such an examination should create greater sensitivity towards societal values and reveal fresh openings for innovation in the civil service, which are the essential elements for the rejuvenation of public administration in developing countries.

Creating Employment in Kenya: the ILO Mission Report*

A Review Article by IAN LIVINGSTONE

Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

THE Apostles of small-scale industry and appropriate techniques have, via Ceylon and Colombia, come to Kenya. While, however, recognisably belonging to the same family as the other two I.L.O. reports[1], this one is perhaps the most comprehensive and valuable, covering many aspects of economic and social policy in Kenya and making as many recommendations. As did the earlier Missions, the Kenya Mission interprets its brief as covering poverty rather than simply overt unemployment or underemployment, considering the lines between poverty, underemployment and unemployment not to be clear cut, with all three originating from the same process of development or underdevelopment. The report is thus very wide-ranging.

It is a report of the 1970s, in that it reflects many of the current predispositions and concerns of development economists: there is recognition of the Centre-Periphery relation and problems of economic dependence, concern with income distribution, a selective and critical approach towards foreign investment, emphasis on rural development, criticism of the alien enclave within a dual economy (measures are suggested to increase the links between the traditional and modern sectors, and to expand the intermediate or informal sector), interest in technical change and appropriate technology, criticism of an import-substituting industrial strategy and proposals for the reorientation of the industrialisation effort towards exports.

While it is clear already that the Kenya Government has no intention of implementing many of the recommendations, particularly the most radical ones, or of grasping the nettle of income distribution – there has already been criticism of the Report for its apparent expectation that its proposals would be seriously considered – this approach in an official publication is nevertheless to be welcomed. It should at least increase the extent to which these issues are discussed within Kenya, and much more: other countries and governments facing very similar problems will find this a valuable guide.

Main Recommendations and New Emphases

What, then, are the main recommendations for dealing with the problems of poverty and underemployment? First, in the light of Kenya's rapidly

*"**Employment, incomes and equality, a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya**", *I.L.O., Geneva*, 1972.

[1]I.L.O., *Towards full employment. A programme for Colombia*, Geneva, 1970, and *Matching Employment opportunities and expectations: A programme of action for Ceylon*, Geneva, 1971.

growing population, population control measures, with increased expenditure on family planning campaigns. Second, a continued emphasis on rural development, agriculture being the largest absorber of labour, subdivision of large farms and a general redistribution of land towards the more labour-intensive small-scale units; in extension policy a reorientation away from the big progressive farmers and towards the mass of peasant farmers, including women cultivators. Thirdly, in the area of industrial development, where the slow rate of growth in employment in the modern sector is associated with the import-substitution policy biased towards luxury consumer goods production, a new industrial strategy is recommended. This is to be more export-oriented and less dependent on private foreign investment. Greater emphasis should be on small-scale and rural industries. Labour-intensive techniques can be encouraged through the abolition of factor price distortions resulting in the underpricing of capital (as a result of tariff policy, where a differential import tariff should be levied on capital goods, at present imported duty free, and the investment deduction system of taxation, which should be discontinued) or the overpricing of labour (here it is recommended that shadow pricing should be used in project evaluation, especially for public sector projects). In public construction there should be a check on the use of very capital-intensive techniques, while unrealistic standards and designs for buildings, which increase the use of capital-intensive methods, should be abandoned. In order over time to generate appropriate technology it is recommended that a light capital goods industry be established to produce simpler agricultural and industrial inputs especially small tractors and other farm implements.

Apart from this there are employment implications associated with two somewhat original emphases in the report. First, in common with the other Mission reports, great stress is put on the fact that a significant redistribution of income would alter the structure of demand away from luxury goods towards goods consumed at lower incomes by the mass of the population, goods which are produced generally with labour-intensive methods and with a high local material content. In this way redistribution alleviates poverty directly and also indirectly through the secondary effects on employment. This is an important point, and it might have been stressed that in addition to this effect on the demand side, efforts should be similarly concentrated on the supply side at increasing the availability and lowering the prices of mass low-income consumer goods in preference to increasing production of goods consumed by the few[2]. Other recommendations, such as the promotion of rural industries, do indeed fall on this side.

Secondly, great emphasis is put by the Mission on the development of what it calls "the informal sector". In fact the Introduction centres on this: "Our strategy of a redistribution from growth aims at establishing links that are at present lacking between the formal and informal sectors . . . The various

[2]This is a point made by the reviewer at greater length in another article, "Results of a rural survey: the ownership of durable goods in Tanzanian households and some implications for rural industry", *E.R.B.* 70.1, *Economic Research Bureau*, Dar es Salaam, 1970.

policies which we recommend in other parts of the report are intended to reduce risk and uncertainty on the part of those employed in the informal sector and to ensure a dynamic growth of this large segment on the Kenyan economy"[3].

The Mission's proposals for expanding this informal sector are, however, best examined together with those for small-scale and rural industries, which along with services constitute the sector. These in turn need to be viewed as part of the Mission's new industrial strategy to replace import substitution. And in terms of economic policy-making, this really is the core of the report, and the foundation of the Mission's hopes for a long-term remedy to the employment problem.

Agricultural Processing for Export

There are two main elements in the industrial strategy proposed, the emphasis being on

1. the export of processed agricultural products, and
2. the development of small-scale and rural industry.

The first emphasis is clear: "Our recommendations centre upon the export of processed agricultural products as a major component of an employment-intensive industrial strategy"[4], while elsewhere the second is given the ambitious description of "a new industrial strategy for Kenya"[5]. Considering first the former, there is no doubting that such industries satisfy well the sound criteria put forward by the Mission: the question is whether sufficient content can be given to it in the form of viable export industries. Those mentioned, however, are meat preparations, vegetable and fruit processing, cotton fabrics, wool processing, clothing, made-up textiles, leather tanning, vegetable oils, sawn wood, plywood and other furniture. But these are all industries which have been long established domestically, without any great success in exporting. The question would then seem to be what additional measures can be undertaken to improve the export performance of these industries. Textiles, in particular, face competition from other East African textile industries, themselves with excess capacity, and in overseas markets face competition from the industries of developed and other developing countries: this being part of the general problem that developing countries tend to set up very similar industries competing for the same markets. There is, moreover, a further requirement for success in exporting, as the Mission states, which is that "production for export presupposes access to the markets of other countries".[6] While the criteria offered and the general policy suggested appear sound, therefore, the evidence actually available seems insufficient, and the offering of a specific estimate of 15,000 new jobs[7] to be created by 1985 through the development of industries processing agricultural products may be somewhat rash.

---

[3] I.L.O. Mission Report, pp. 6-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

Small Scale Industry, Labour-intensive Techniques, and the Informal Sector

Given the emphasis placed on the other focus of the industrial strategy, the development of small scale and rural industries, it is disappointing again how little concrete evidence is provided by the Mission of the relative efficiency, and thus economic viability, of smaller-scale enterprises. Certainly recent trends have been in the opposite direction, though this may have been assisted by past policies: "The preponderance of large establishments in total employment has remained virtually constant, or if anything has been strengthened, since 1964, and the small firms (5 to 19 employees) have lost ground to the medium-sized firms (20 to 49 employees)[8]."

Reference is also made, in respect of small-scale *rural* industry, to the fact that the failure rate is high when the scale of operation reaches ten employees, "and this creates a barrier between this sector and modern small-scale industry"[9]. We cannot enter here into a full discussion of previous work on small-scale and cottage/craft industries but two salient points seem to be that there is a need which is frequently neglected, to distinguish between "modern" small industry and cottage/craft industry; and that it is the former which is much more economically viable and resilient in the long period[10]. The Mission seems to do the same, nowhere making a clear distinction between the two categories, despite the optimistic stress it lays on rural industry in particular.

The two examples given of possible small-scale industry are not very convincing. The existence of large footwear manufacturers, the Mission states, "cannot have made life easier for the African producers making cheap sandals from old motor tyres and inner tubes"[11]. But footwear is one commodity where the success of factory methods can be put down clearly to superior efficiency, and not to any preferential advantage accorded. This success is due to the existence of a mass market for shoes even at low levels of income, and would not depend on any redistribution of income. The other case mentioned is the bakery industry, but again without hard evidence of the possibilities for factor substitution or scale change.

Arguments for the adoption of labour-intensive techniques are closely allied with those for small-scale industry, since they are frequently, though not necessarily, associated with smaller industrial units. Disappointingly,

---

[8]P. 178.

[9]P. 183.

[10]E. Staley and R. Morse, *Modern Small Industry for Developing Countries*, McGraw Hill, 1965, classify small firm industry as comprising firms up to 100 employees, with cottage industry as units of less than 10 persons; B. Hoselitz, who takes small industry as firms with up to 50 persons, has a sub-group of "dwarf" industries employing not more than 5 persons, in "Small Industry in Underdeveloped Countries", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 19, 1959. Those, together with another well-known work by Dhar and H. F. Lydall, all provide evidence of the relative weakness of cottage/craft industry as compared to "modern" small industry of larger scale. The frequent neglect of the distinction is referred to by D. J. Dwyer and L. Chuen-Yan, who state that "the literature reveals that in recent years advocacy of the support by developing countries of small industrial units as a class and with little distinction as to type has been common", in *The Small Industrial Unit in Hong Kong. Patterns and Policies*, University of Hull, 1967.

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 137.

again, the Mission does not offer much, if any, evidence that these are economic even with Kenyan factor prices. It states here that "No clear cut evidence is available for Kenya to indicate whether labour intensive techniques in use are often inefficient or not"[12]. Despite a similar emphasis in the recommendations of the previous two missions in Ceylon and Colombia, the three voluminous reports have not added to the available evidence on the scope for more labour-intensive techniques, though the fact that such stress is given in three major reports embracing three continents should certainly stimulate further work. Another recent Kenyan study[13] has suggested that considerable possibilities for factor substitution in manufacturing industry do exist, particularly outside the main technical production process, and also that more labour-intensive methods have been adopted to some extent; however, the only Mission study, of sealing and packaging processes in the manufacture of cans, favoured an automated method even at a very low shadow wage rate. In distribution the Mission takes a dim view of supermarkets (similarly condemned by the earlier Missions), but it is possible if not likely that these are preferred by consumers.

Within the category of craft industry the Mission stresses particularly the encouragement of rural industry, being actually critical of the programme of workshop industry development centred in the towns under the umbrella of Kenya Industrial Estates Ltd. While this development has certainly proved high cost, it is still experimental; and it seems somewhat contradictory to sustain optimism for rural artisan industry while casting doubt on the value of these estates. Data is available, if it were needed, from neighbouring Tanzania, showing that, while such artisan industry – woodworking, metal crafts, repair work and the like – is widely spread in response to the distribution of population, the concentrations are in the towns and dependent on the urban and peri-urban market[14]. If such artisans are worth promoting, therefore, it would seem to be no less important and considerably easier to focus on these concentrations[15]. For instance, subcontracting, advocated by the Mission, would probably only work for collections of workshops on industrial estates, and would be quite difficult for scattered rural artisans. It is certainly not clear why the offer of technical and managerial services should be more successful in the rural areas than in the towns. While there has apparently been a great expansion of the informal sector in the rural areas – rural industry and rural distribution – the main reason would seem to be the expansion of cash agriculture which provides the necessary springboard of increased rural incomes.

At this point we might broaden the discussion to cover the entire informal sector, rural and urban, which includes services. The Mission, and other

---

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[13] H. Pack, *Eastern African Economic Review*, 1972.

[14] K. Schadler, *Crafts, Small-scale Industries and Industrial Education in Tanzania*, I.F.O.-Institut, Munich, 1968.

[15] In a study of craft industry in Tanzania the author suggested a plan for locating estates of such workshops in a large number of the smaller up-country townships. See I. Livingstone, *The Promotion of Craft and Rural Industry in Tanzania*, Vierteljahres Berichte, No. 47, March, 1972.

recent observers of the Kenyan economy, rather exaggerate their "discovery" of this sector[16], but they are right to focus on its quantitative significance, its importance for labour absorption, and especially its special value in catering specifically for the poor mass of the population. While certain fiscal distortions work against labour-intensive techniques and the small-scale sector, the sector, however, also derives considerable economic advantage from the evasion of minimum wage legislation and the exploitation of cheap labour, an advantage which the Mission might well have estimated and allowed for.

A critical question, though, is what development potential the sector has, how progressive it is likely to be. Two elements are involved here. The first is whether this small-scale industry and related activity is technologically progressive, carries the same export capability, and is capable of generating expanding industrial units. The second aspect, related to this last point, is whether the supply of entrepreneurship exists, or can be generated, to sustain and expand the sector. On the first question, without denying the importance of the sector in terms of income generated, it is far less certain how far it can be made into a leading sector in the growth process: as indicated above, it has in part sprung up as a service sector based on incomes earned from crops or within the modern sector, including the public sector. While the Mission recommends that a deliberate effort be made to strengthen links with the modern sector, it is not clear what the links are which could be developed, keeping in mind that these have presumably not been considered profitable to develop in the past.

The Mission claims that "There exists . . . considerable evidence of technical change in the urban informal sector"[17], and some examples are given in the technical papers. But the evidence actually brought forward here is sparse. In respect of "modern" small industry, the literature is certainly optimistic, frequently about innovativeness among smaller firms. But, as we have said, the Mission is perhaps not sufficiently mindful of the distinction between this and craft industry. The "variety of carpenters, masons, tailors and other tradesmen, as well as cooks and taxi-drivers"[18], urban and rural, comprising the informal sector is very different.

The promotion of this sector, within the limits of economic viability, is certainly desirable, both for the income distribution reasons given weight by the Mission and because of the wider spread of entrepreneurial opportunity which it entails. A question does arise, however, and this is where

---

[16]Within East Africa, Walter Elkan stressed it as early as 1959: "Year after year the Annual Report of the Uganda Protectorate has referred, under the heading of industry, to a few large undertakings directly sponsored by the Government. At the same time the multifarious development of furniture workshops, soap mills, tyre retreading plants, bakeries and brickfields has gone on largely unnoticed. An official who was once asked about Kampala's industrial area said: "There are no industries there – only a lot of furniture works, bakeries, maize mills and soda water factories". See W. Elkan, "Criteria for Industrial Development in Uganda", *The East African Economic Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1959.

[17]ILO Mission Report, p. 5.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

the second question of the supply of entrepreneurship enters, as to the extent to which this category of artisan-entrepreneurs can provide a nursery for modern small industry which is technologically progressive and has sufficient export capability. The barrier between the two in Kenya has already been noted above. This might well suggest that the statement of the Kenyan Minister of Finance, Mr. Kibaki, though excessively gloomy, presents a genuine dilemma when he says that the choice presented by the Mission between large-scale industry and intermediate technology is not available, "since Kenyans lack the know-how to run even small-scale plants"[19].

Private versus Public Enterprise

This brings us to a fundamental question regarding Kenyan economic development, which is the relative emphases to be given now and in the future to private and to public enterprise. The Mission is initially quite critical of the way in which the capitalist system has affected Kenya, on Centre-Periphery lines, and says[20]: "Indeed, the power of the centre over the periphery may well be greater today than it was before, since there is now a closer correlation of interests between the urban elite, the owners of large farms, and the large foreign-owned companies".

But, unless one takes the same sanguine view of the expansion prospects of an indigenous informal sector, it is difficult to see what the Mission's recommendations are for changing this situation. It does, certainly, recommend more careful calculation of advantages and inducements to be allowed expatriate concerns, but its recommendations *in toto* add up to a strongly capitalist package. Apart from the encouragement of foreign investment which, on a controlled basis, is sensible, it should be noted that an informal indigenous sector of small-scale producers will be essentially a private enterprise system. Moreover, the Mission neglects a number of likely deficiencies in the quality of African entrepreneurship within this sector. Apart from the probable limitations of the informal sector discussed above, the fact is that the more successful entrepreneurs are often teachers and civil servants, a development which has its problems, as recognised in Tanzania by its Leadership Code. Certainly it is not clear whether a sufficient number of enterprises could operate (in the short term) at small to medium scale, without special favours. Meanwhile the Mission is specifically opposed[21] to the contribution of government equity in joint enterprises with overseas concerns, on grounds of conserving scarce capital. The snag is that in the event of an insufficiently dynamic informal sector, this could "leave them the playground". Reform rather than abolition of this form of public control might be better if the pace of development is to be sustained across a wider range of industrial concerns.

Regional Distribution of Industry

One particular reason for controlling private foreign investment is to ensure regional dispersal of industry. In contrast with the growth pole

[19]Quoted in the *Guardian* of Wednesday, August 22, 1973.
[20]*ILO Report*, p.12.
[21]*Ibid.*, p. 191.

strategy so prominent in Tanzania's Second Five Year Plan, for instance, the Mission Report (which has more in it than many Plans) is curiously silent about this, although the Mission shows itself well aware of the drawbacks of further polarization in Nairobi. With an improving road transport system, and in the long run, hopefully, more opportunities for export of manufactures to neighbouring countries, a much stronger location policy would seem to be feasible. Kisumu, for example, situated at one end of Lake Victoria, is potentially an excellent centre for East African industries. The Mission may be looking towards the expansion of rural industry and the informal sector to secure the necessary dispersal but, as suggested earlier, its hopes here may be unduly optimistic. Dispersal of "formal sector" industry towards other centres would also further encourage dispersed development of informal activities. Certainly the information given on differential regional access to social services, with remedial proposals, could well be supplemented by similar discussion of regional access to formal sector employment.

Population Policy

The Mission rightly emphasises the importance of population control, Kenya having a population growth rate which the Mission thinks may well move up to 4 per cent per annum (a rate which can double the population within 20 years) as well as a dependency ratio of 106 in 1970, compared with 55-60 for developed countries. It devotes an early chapter to this, and prepared a special Mission paper on population policy for submission to government, recommending "a massive information and education programme". Though this is in any case a very difficult area in which to gain acceptance in Africa, the Mission might have got its point across more dramatically by a specific comparison between the number of new jobs created annually by, say, new manufacturing enterprises or potentially by even a considerable change towards labour-intensive techniques within the manufacturing sector on the one hand, and the vast number of potential job-seekers emerging as a result of uncontrolled population growth on the other. For instance, the 15,000 jobs which the Mission hopes could be created by 1985 through the expansion of agricultural processing for export, an important part of its industrial strategy, would be completely swallowed up by the 2.7 per cent growth rate of the rural population. Likewise the same urgent concern over employment which led the Kenya government to introduce the 1970 Tripartite Agreement, which the Mission considers not to have had any lasting effect on employment anyway, might much more effectively have been directed towards population policy.

Furthermore, one misses regional data on population growth, densities and land supply. The fact that the effects of uncontrolled population growth are already biting hard in particular areas, Nyanza especially, whereas new employment opportunities are not correspondingly distributed, makes the adoption of a strong regional growth policy even more vital. Among new employment opportunities here should be included access to new lands, settlement schemes, and the like. The extent to which these have been used, or could be used, to relieve the hardest-pressed areas might have been examined.

Conclusion

This review has focused critically on only some sections of an unusually comprehensive and thorough report, and cannot do justice to it. There is, for instance, an excellent appraisal of the problem of Kenyan education in relation to employment, leading to radical proposals which would see Kenya towards "a long term and fundamental reconstruction of its whole educational system". On the side of income distribution the report incorporates a succinct review of the tax system, including a great many more proposals than the Kenya government will have found palatable; at the same time striking data is provided of the distribution by province of differential access to social services (schooling, medical services, and NHC housing), and recommendations are made for quotas on regional development expenditures, special incentives to bring qualified staff into less favoured areas, and a system of regional quotas at least for secondary school education, but also for the civil service and elsewhere. This is supported by rural development measures, particularly for decentralisation and the strengthening of planning at the district level, and for minimum income targets for the poorer areas. These are reviewed rather quickly in the report, and the proposals often not spelled out in too much detail. This may reflect the Mission's own realisation of the probability of implementation. Nevertheless this report *could* provide the guide-lines for wholesale and beneficial change.

Three Botswana Papers

A Review Article by WILLIE HENDERSON,

Research Officer, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex

---

Government Paper No. 1 of 1972:
RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA
Government Printer, Gaborone

R. Chambers and D. Feldman
REPORT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT
Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Gaborone

Government Paper No. 2 of 1973:
NATIONAL POLICY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT
Government Printer, Gaborone

Publications by Government Departments in the developing countries frequently go unrecorded or unreviewed in the pages of journals catering for a wider audience than local politicians and administrations are normally concerned with. While Papers and Reports are issued in a blaze of local publicity they frequently slip unannounced on to the Recent Acquisition shelves in the libraries of the developed countries and only at a later stage do they appear embodied in critical articles or theses. This is unfortunate because many of these publications are of considerable importance for the continued development of government policy and are frequently more important than the better-known National Development Plans. The three publications reviewed in this article are examples taken from Botswana of important publications involving a whole set of new initiatives in development policy. They are essential reading for anyone who is interested in rural development in general and/or in the particular state of government thinking in Botswana. The particular sequence of publication and consideration is of further interest in that Government Papers are a new departure in Botswana and the second Paper reviewed here is a fairly substantial policy document.

White papers are relatively new, but concern with rural development is not. Under pressure from a fragmented electorate more interested in local than in national issues, from opposition MPs in touch with rural people directly rather than through the weak statutory political framework operated by Government, and from some European residents who have been quick to take up the topic as one for practical concern, Government has had to amend its aims concerning the direction of national development.

In the early stages of policy formulation, priority was given to the development of the mining sector and to the need of obtaining a local and preferably an *internal* source of government income. The effects of this policy are now being felt in the Ministry of Finance. Grant-in-Aid has gone and the future prospect for balancing the recurrent budget is very bright. Some considerable verbal attention has in the past been given to rural development themes but in practice up until very recently, senior administrative capacity was almost fully taken up by "Shashi Complex" (mining developments) negotiations. The negotiations with the mining companies, the World Bank and other donors, the preparation of legislation, the planning of a complete new town, etc., all placed a very great strain on the administration. The extent of the pressure is not generally understood either within Botswana or outside. The political argument has always been, however, that mining would provide the finance with which to undertake rural development.

This justification is stated in the first Paper and repeated in Paper No. 2 of 1973. The dual strategy is explained as follows:

(a) the securing of rapid and large returns to the nation from intensive capital investment in mining and other viable modern industries mainly aimed at export markets;

(b) the reinvestment of the proceeds of these investments in such a manner as to promote labour-intensive activities and improve services in the rural areas.

The Chambers and Feldman report was commissioned after the presentation of the 1972 Paper which had been prepared within the Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning. This home-grown document was intended primarily for political consumption. There is in the document for the first time (apart from mention in Presidential speeches) a more formal administrative commitment to the idea of rural development. There is a certain amount of emotionalism in the Paper always tempered by the planners' aim of putting everything within some sort of economic framework though sometimes as a result the rhetoric is a little strained: "The present uneven distribution of cattle makes it more difficult to achieve rural development in the interests of the majority. We should, of course, do nothing which will make our cattle industry less productive, or which would reduce its income-earning capacity. But we must recognise that cattle in the traditional sector represent a national resource which like all such resources must be exploited to the full in the interest of the nation as a whole. When we are seeking to swell our public resources by improving revenue collecting in the rural areas, it would be wrong to permit the wealthiest members of the rural community to escape their obligations to the nation". (Page 6, Government Paper No. 1 of 1972)

As a document on which to develop a serious policy towards the rural areas it is inadequate. Its interest is to be found not so much in the plans and suggestions that it makes but in the fact that it is the first political response containing any sort of definitive commitment to rural development. Rural development policy on the publication of this Paper and on its examination by Parliament had moved from the level of political rhetoric towards action.

Chambers and Feldman, with financial support from Ford Foundation, were recruited to undertake an evaluation of existing policies and to make recommendations concerning future policy developments given the established aim of directing government attention away from mining and towns and back into the rural areas. Chambers and Feldman were not asked to comment on the *realism* of the redistribution strategy. In consequence the report does not raise issues such as: the potential multiplier effect on the wage structure of the country caused by the level of wages paid in the mining industry; the danger of the big mining companies becoming the biggest consumers of government administrative capacity (thereby affecting the size of central government itself); the danger, also, of mining needs consuming the major share of development funds. Chambers and Feldman are concerned with policy and project design given the aims of securing the fastest rate of economic growth and of promoting a more equitable distribution of income between urban and rural areas. One overall criticism of the whole process of considering rural income is that inadequate attention has been given to the problem of conflict of interest *within* and *between* the various sectors.

The consultants are well aware of the nature of the Botswana economy. Throughout they identify resources and constraints. Rightly they contend that finance will not be a problem. Appropriate administrative capacity is singled out as the biggest single constraint.

The development formula that they come up with is summed up neatly in their argument for three thrusts, "to commercialise, to diversify and to distribute". Recognition is given to the fact that commercialisation if left to the natural expansion of market forces would lead to an increased concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. A better organised and more flexible extension programme capable of reaching the poor farmer is advocated and a series of administrative and legal reforms is suggested to bring the smaller farmers more closely within the development process. A Modern Farmers' Programme is suggested to replace the rather thinly-spread Pupil Farmers' Scheme which attempts to do too much with too few people. A Horticultural Extension Service is proposed in an effort to stimulate the rather weak developmental effect towns in Botswana have had on agricultural practice in surrounding farming areas.

The whole area of Agricultural Research comes in for some heavy criticism and the consultants stress the need for consideration to be given to the economic position of the individual farmer at the research design stage. The need to consider the farmer as a rational decision taker is "a must". These recommendations are useful and important in a country in which until recently Agricultural Reports could contain gems such as, "It was reported that one enterprising farmer at Lephephe got up every morning before dawn to plough his field". The nature of proposed innovations, methods of communication and administrative systems are considered from the farmers point-of-view and are found to be in need of revision. The ability of the Barolong Farmers is singled out by the consultants. Local Agricultural Officers tend to think that the Barolong do well because of luck and good

rains. Chambers and Feldman show that it is by skill and sound farming practice.

The report does, however, tend to deal with the category "farmer" and "poor farmer". Very little attention is paid to the plight of widows who would certainly like to be "farmers", and who frequently have land but lack the resources and the labour with which to cultivate it. These one-parent families (unmarried mothers may also be in this situation) are usually locked in a poverty trap. Two-parent families, however poor, have a better chance of breaking the hold poverty has over them. A great deal of attention has been given to research into these problems and it would have been interesting to have seen more attention paid to this area by the consultants.

The Department of Water Affairs does not emerge too happily from the report either. The Department has had several manpower problems and was forced in the past to consider urban water supplies as the first priority. Rural water supplies and the borehole maintenance scheme suffered. Much more attention must be paid to rural water and to establishing a properly co-ordinated borehole policy. The consultants though they are concerned with the lack of supervision of borehole drilling applications and related matters, fail to point out adequately that those few who can afford to purchase boreholes are benefiting from a hidden subsidy on both capital and recurrent cost of the borehole. Reconsideration of this subsidy is urgently required but does not find discussion in the Report. Control of new borehole developments is urged, but in spite of this a project has been prepared by government to undertake drilling work in order to wipe out the backlog of undrilled holes. A better policy would surely have been to cancel all those approved but undrilled and start again completely fresh with new rules.

Chambers and Feldman make a very good attempt to answer all the questions asked of them and the report is comprehensive. They do not, however, show up the conflicts and contradictions likely to be discovered in a policy based on their three thrusts (though to be fair they do argue for the protection of existing traditional systems of redistribution where possible). Their recommendations are interesting and even forceful especially when dealing with the vested interests likely to oppose the development of a second abattoir in the North of the country.

The Paper which accompanied the Report was produced by the Rural Development Council. There was a seven month period between receipt of the Report and its publication together with the Paper. During that time comments on the Report were obtained from a variety of different agencies within central and local Government. The exercise by all reports was thorough and the Paper is much more authoritative and considered than the earlier one. As usual, while mentioning the dual strategy for rapid development, the Paper glides over issues concerning *realism* and *conflict* to which mention has already been made.

In the sections which consider the detailed and specific recommendations by the consultants the Paper could have gone into slightly more detail concerning Government's reactions and recommendations. Most of the

recommendations made by the consultants appear to have been accepted though it must be stressed that the consultants' arguments are not swallowed whole. When it comes to the case for better economic assessment of research work, the Paper states baldly that: "The Government's agricultural research programme is already tailored strictly to the requirements of the development programme" (p. 5), Ah, yes, but are the farmers? And when it comes to dry land farmers and new crops, the paper states that "Maize varieties which have proved successful elsewhere in dryland conditions have not been successful in Botswana". Fencing is accepted with qualifications, but on the whole the Paper does come to the conclusion that fencing is needed. This is an improvement on the previous policy which was a kind of "wait-and-see" one and needless to say ambitious men were continuing to fence.

On the political level increased participation in Village Development Committees and District Development Committees is accepted. But there is not enough awareness that these institutions might easily put a brake on the redistributive aspect of policy where the redistribution works against the interest of the central village or the existing affluent member of the district. The institutional arrangements could be politically inconvenient as central initiatives get bogged down in local political squabbles.

Does all of this now add up to a serious Rural Development Policy? The answer is a qualified "yes". There is still a need for further nuts-and-bolts questions for answers within individual Ministries. Agriculture for example ought to get demonstrators off bicycles and back on to horses by readjusting the horse maintenance allowance and so on. There is probably still a need to think of more specific problems (to particular areas rather than in terms of the blanket and not very useful idea of "rural areas"). Land utilisation surveys together with sociological analysis to be undertaken by the Rural Sociologist will help to establish a balance in this respect. However, it all depends on political will or rather administrative will. Rural development means turning attention away from Gaborone and towards rural areas, but there are many civil servants who are involved in rural areas in their own right. Are they committed to the "poor farmer"? That remains to be seen.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Town and Country Planning – Overseas Summer School*

The 1973 Town and Country Planning Overseas School was held at the University of York, 1-5 September. Thirty-four countries (24 from the Third World) were represented among the 85 members present; they included academics, central and local government officials, private practitioners and consultants; the whole composing a lively inter-disciplinary admix.

FROM BRITAIN

(a) Professor Perkin provided the historical background to popular participation; the growing realisation, in principle, of its necessity, and the frustration the exercise involved when the public is addressed in highly abstract planners' jargon. He feared a tendency of planners to present a *fait accompli* and, in his parody of the Tenth-Century Archbishop Aelfric's words, "after he is consecrated planner, he has authority over the people, and they cannot shake his yoke off their necks!"

(b) Leslie Ginsburg saw participation as "publicity, public relations, protest and participation". In a stimulating if waspish address he pointed out that if the public is presented with a plan that is already finalised, explanatory meetings can easily become inflamatory. Protests were often organised by outsiders and a major problem now faced was the continuing of protest beyond the achievement of immediate goals, so that merely destructive action left a planning vacuum to the detriment of the public interest.

(c) Audrey Lees explained the problems of a local authority in a great industrial city trying to achieve popular participation. Protest had shown how projects could be stopped. It was now for participation to show how progress could be made.

(d) Patrick Cooke explained the orthodox UN line on participatory urban settlement and housing schemes, and advocated the "site and service provisions" programme for developing countries. His approach was, however, a narrow one and ignored the need for broader planning and rural development as complementary to urban planning.

FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

(a) Professor Temu from Dar es Salaam explained the present policy of the Tanzania Government for decentralisation and greater consultation in depth with the people in rural areas – Ujamaa village development committees actively participating in the planning process. Previous national plans had largely been evolved by expatriates who

departed when they were complete, leaving the difficult task of implementation to Tanzanians. Now the latter are being involved in planning through committees and working parties from the grass roots upwards.

(b) Dr. Amissah from Kumasi explained the procedure being followed in Ghana to deal with the resettlement of villagers whose homes were to be inundated by a new water supply dam. "No one would like to spend a penny on an inconvenience, if he can help it" – ergo the Authority should bear all financial commitments of resettlement. The diverse social, traditional, agro-economic problems had been carefully considered, and the main conclusion drawn was the importance for the planner to "*plan with* the affected people right from the preliminary thinking stages to the final implementation of the physical plan proposals". Acceptance in Ghana as in Tanzania of a policy of self-reliance, would, Dr. Amissah believed, greatly facilitate the resettlement programme.

(c) Tomas de la Barra, from Chile, explained the Allende Government's programme for population participation through a series of Councils at every level of Chilean life, including the "Neighbourhood Unions" set up by the previous Administration. A readiness to be involved and a policy of seeking involvement is at work. He concluded that "a period of calm and reflection are extremely necessary. Many things in this field need to be consoldiated . . ." Alas, instead of such a period of calm, Chile has been plunged into the throes of an acute and violent political crisis.

The purpose of the Summer School is not to reach any particular conclusions, but to provide an open forum for the exchange of views and experiences, both at the formal meetings in a fairly intensive programme and also in informal discussions that an international gathering held on a delightful campus, makes possible. These ends were certainly achieved at York and few, if any, of those present could have departed without adding something of practical use to their store of knowledge, and a greater appreciation of the essential need for planners to take into account the diverse social implications that environmental change involves – right down at grass roots level.

(Specially contributed)

TUNISIA – *Halting the Sahara Desert*

How fast is the Sahara growing? Can it be stopped – even reversed? The Tunisian Government, aided by UNDP and FAO, are co-operating in a variety of projects to find the answers. At the same time, they seek to improve agricultural and pasturing methods in the marginal areas.

It seems beyond dispute that the Sahara's growth is not the result of long-term climatic changes, but flows directly from the acts of man. Tiberiu Ionesco, an FAO expert in desert control, explains:

"In a marginal area, not yet invaded by the Sahara, food and water for animals and people are hard to find. And there are perhaps a million people

in these regions. With a population growth rate approaching 3 per cent annually, the pressure of people is already intense, and getting worse.

"When a group of nomads find a green area, they put up their tents, free their camels and goats, and stay until every sprig of green has gone for cooking or for fodder. Then they pack up and move on – and the next invader is the desert."

Finding ways to keep the (sand) dunes stable has become a major objective. Highly technical studies on the process of desert-forming are under way. The expected direction and velocity of sand-flows are predicted.

Much of the water in these areas contains four, five or even six grammes of salt per litre. Thus Tunisia's needs have led the Government, with help from UNDP, UNESCO and FAO, to launch pioneer studies into the use of saline water for irrigation.

The salinity-resistance of various crops has been studied over some years. While lower yields must be expected, many crops survive irrigation with saline water surprisingly well. Sprinkler irrigation of sorghum with saline water burns the leaves, but the crop itself remains intact. With melons and tomatoes, the results so far are less good.

Source: *Pre-investment News*, February, 1973

UNITED KINGDOM – *Joint Twinning Committee for Local Government*

The Joint Twinning Committee was set up in 1962 by the local authority associations of the United Kingdom to co-ordinate the work of its member organisations in the field of town twinning and to assist all local authorities seeking an overseas link. It maintains a central register of twinned places and will seek and supply information about places seeking links.

In July 1972 it was decided that the British Council should be responsible for the secretarial work of the Committee. At the same time the importance of ensuring that the Committee should continue to be clearly representative of local government and that there should be adequate reflection of educational interests was stressed.

Most existing links are with Western Europe although there is an increasing number of enquiries from places wishing to twin with a town or region in a developing country. This calls for a rather different approach to that used with European countries where the emphasis is on civic and other exchanges. Although imagination and understanding are needed in any twinning relationship, they are needed in much larger quantities where developing countries are concerned. One of the main aims of such a link should be to give people a greater insight into conditions in a developing country by getting to know its people, its products and its problems, and to create a partnership in development that will heighten specific development projects in their true light.

The London borough of Camden has a link with Mochudi in Botswana and their relationship provides a good example for others to follow. Camden

does not advocate civic visits because of the distance, time and expense involved. However, people who travel between the two places for other purposes are welcomed as friends.

To encourage a wider feeling of contact, children at one Camden school collected a sum equal to the annual subscription to a science magazine for a school in Mochudi, magazines have been sent to Mochudi library and a local women's organisation bought a set of school books and sent them as part of UNESCO's International Book Year.

There are many other ways contact can be established, such as through tape recordings, penfriends, etc. Camden recommends that to maintain such a twinning successfully there should be in the UK town people who have been to the other country, people who believe in the necessity of those in developed and developing countries understanding one another a little better, lots of enthusiasm and some good organisational ability.

Nationals overseas seeking information affecting the development of their community or coming to the United Kingdom to study should find contacts willing to guide and assist them within their twin town.

Further information about twinning can be obtained from the Secretary, Joint Twinning Committee, 97/99 Park Street, London, W.1, who will be very pleased to help in any way possible.

Note: In the Autumn of 1973 the "link" position with regard to developing countries was as follows:

(a) *Links already formed*

Barnet (Middlesex) with Jinja (Uganda). Correspondence link.
Brentwood (Essex) with Lusaka (Zambia).
Camden (London) with Mochudi, Botswana.
Coventry (Warwickshire) with Kingston (Jamaica).
Kingston-upon-Hull (Yorkshire) with Lagos (Nigeria).
Lambeth (London) with Colombo (Sri Lanka).
Oxfordshire with Gambia.
Wallsend (London) with Lobatsi (Botswana).

(b) *Links under negotiation*

Blantyre (Scotland) with Blantyre (Malawi).
Coventry (Warwickshire) with Kumasi (Ghana).
Leeds (Local Education Authority) with Nairobi (Kenya).
Stoke-on-Trent (Staffordshire) with Ndola (Zambia).
Liverpool (Lancashire) with South Vietnam.

Requests

Wakefield (Yorkshire) with South Vietnam.

(Specially contributed)

UNITED NATIONS – *Corruption in Government*

Many countries face the problem of bribery and corruption, which exacts economic and social costs of serious proportions . . . This is often an embarrassing and delicate issue for a country to handle, but the enormous cost in human, financial, developmental, political and moral terms of such widespread venality precludes the passive tolerance with which corruption is too often regarded at present. Governments need to approach this difficult problem from a number of different angles, including the sharpening of investigation and auditing machinery, the tightening of controls and the application of appropriate sanctions against all parties to this kind of anti-social conduct of which the general public is always the victim. Administrative and legal reform is equally implied. Technical support through international machinery can and should be given to those Governments requesting it, because they are determined to root out these enervating processes from their political, administrative and judicial machinery. This is a type of problem which can only be solved together with far-reaching social and economic change.

Source: Note of the Secretary General to the General Assembly on Crime Prevention and Control quoted in *Public Administration Newsletter* No. 50.

NIGERIA – *Newspaper Deliveries*

Newspaper proprietors facing distribution difficulties in this country, might like to know how they order these matters in Nigeria.

Alhaji Babatunde Jose, for instance, Chairman and Managing Director of the *Daily Times of Nigeria*, speaking in Athens, recently, to members of the newspaper publishers and distributors organisation, DISTIPRESS, recounted the remarkable story of how his newspapers reach their readers.

It seems that every day of the year, between 3 p.m. and midnight, nine lorries leave Lagos laden with his newspapers – 200,000 copies of the weekday edition or 350,000 of the Sunday one – and proceed at high speed to various towns where they meet up with other lorries which relay their loads to all parts of a country the size of Britain, France and West Germany, combined. Public transport is then brought into the act, together with canoes with outboard motors which distribute newspapers in the creeks, and their contributions, added to that of sixty-six drivers in charge of forty lorries, ensure that the newspapers reach the stands each morning.

The operation of the lorries costs $380,851 a year, with the lorry drivers clocking up 2,500,000 miles between them in that time. As Alhaji Jose points out, "That is 7,000 miles every day on roads that are far from being autobahns".

Source: *West Africa* – 29 October, 1973

MALAYSIA – *A New Contemporary*

We welcome *Development Administration Review* (Kajian Tadbrian Pembangunan), the Journal of the National Institute of Public Administration, Malaysia. This is an English language publication with a synopsis of each article provided in Malay.

Book Reviews

Administration: The Word and the Science, by ANDREW DUNSIRE *Martin Robertson and Co. Ltd., London;* pp. 272; hardback £3.25; paperback £1.50.

Britain's Legacy Overseas, by GEOFFREY BOLTON; *Oxford University Press;* pp. 76; hardback £1.30; paperback 65p.

Reform of the Nigerian Public Service, edited by M. TUKUR; *Institute of Administration, Zaria;* pp. 340.

This reviewer has always found it curious that it was possible for Britain to send its thousands of administrators overseas to Asia and Africa without, even on the formalised training courses for ICS probationers at Oxford, or the Colonial Service Probationers (later Devonshire) courses at Oxford, Cambridge and London, ever exposing them to any teaching of the subject known as public administration. My own notes from Cambridge twenty-five years ago reveal a grounding in the principles of Native Administration but not a single reference to public administration. No less curious, of course, is the fact that among the great men of the Punjab tradition, like the Lawrence brothers, Metcalfe and Nicholson; among the pro-consular giants like Curzon, Cromer and Milner, Douglas Newbold and James Robertson, Lugard and Cameron, Charles Dundas and Philip Mitchell, my Lords Milverton and Twining; even the Cabinet or Treasury mandarins like Lord Bridges who, we learn, was convinced at the summit of his career as administrator of particular pre-eminence that "many of the things which I have learnt about administration and which I have found of most value have not, so far as I know, been the result of any conscious process of tuition – they have come simply through working with or working under people who have far more experience, far greater wisdom in handling affairs and dealing with people than I had"; by reason of not having studied administration. Perhaps G. B. Shaw was right when he (almost) said that those who can, do; those who can't, study and write about it.

Be this paradox as it may, the post-war generation of African administrators has had no intention of continuing the *status quo*. They reacted strongly against the Jowett tradition that administrators were born and not made and that a First in Greats was the guarantee of an easy ability to administer – and often, be it conceded, administer supremely well. Best of all, of course, was the First with a blue or two thrown in for good measure. "I have never wavered in my conviction", Lord Vansittart once declared, "that the Sudan Civil Service was the finest body in the world. They were all picked men, scholars and athletes. Look at their credentials: former Rugby football captain of Oxford and Scotland, an ex-captain of the Cambridge University cricket team, a member of the Oxford University soccer XI, a rowing trials

man, a member of the Oxford and Middlesex county cricket teams, and a Somerset county rugby footballer. This was a typical intake (of 8 in all that year)."

Public service advertisements in Africa suggest that today's administrators find it as unacceptable to recruit as District Officer a man with a degree in the natural or physical sciences as it is to endorse those early principles of public school prefectorism and paternalism advocated by Kitchener for his nucleus of what was to become a model civil service overseas: "It is to the individual action of (British) officers, working independently but with a common purpose, on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained, that we must look for the moral and industrial regeneration of the Sudan".

Maybe the difference is not only one of time; it is also one of emphasis and vocabulary, of the difference between "government" and "administration", between field administration and ministerial bureaucracy. Certainly no new entrant to an African civil service today is going to be left denuded of instruction in public administration. Thanks to the striking record of Africa's Institutes of Public Administration in their contribution to first the Africanisation and then the upgrading of the public services, the run-of-the-mill African Assistant District Officer today knows far more about the literature and theory of public administration than the Chief Secretary or Governor did a generation ago. Neither education or training can, of course, provide an adequate substitute for experience. What they can do is to facilitate and intensify the process of acquiring that experience.

Today the library resources for teaching public administration are enormous. Problems of selectivity of titles have overtaken the struggle we had fifteen years ago searching for relevant material in African universities. Andrew Dunsire's *Administration* is part survey, part discussion, and nearly all intellectual history. To help us define what we think we mean by administrative science, we are taken back to Xenophon and Cicero, through positivism, behaviouralism and systems-thinking, on to Riggs and Schaffer, and ending up with a list of fifteen meanings of the term "administration". The index of names cited (some 300 of them, including Julius Caesar, Chaucer and Aldous Huxley) and of books and articles referred to in the text (nearly 500 – a bibliographical feat in itself, although writers on administration in Africa are sadly under-represented in both lists) give some idea of the nature of this brilliant and exhaustive analysis of the word and the science. Curzon and Cromer would have managed it, though maybe puzzled at its pertinence; Lugard would probably have dismissed it as an irrelevance – I remember how my first Resident told me on arrival in Nigeria that I had been wasting my entire extra year at Cambridge, on the Devonshire Course, because all he wanted was someone who could audit the Native Treasury accounts and type his confidential reports to the Secretariat. Africa's well-grounded public administration students of today will take Dunsire in their stride; even, like Oliver, probably ask for more. My guess, however, is that none of them will be surprised at Dr. Dunsire's own conclusion, after 225 pages, that "I am sure no reader will expect, at the end of this book,

a carefully written definition of what 'administration' really means, or even what seems to be the common element in all the meanings that have been described". Nonetheless, the game was worth the intellectual candle.

Whether the same can be said of Professor Bolton's slim volume is more problematical. It is, surprisingly for a book published by the Oxford University Press, in the potboiler tradition; and those with specialist knowledge of some of the matters briefly discussed may be put off the whole by the careless errors: for example TANU is not the Nationalist Union nor was it created out of a weak civil servants' union; Jomo Kenyatta has not been knighted, as Professor Bolton would have us believe; and Mr. Stevens, today President of Sierra Leone, has never been known as Saika. As for the conclusion that when the victorious Nigerian regime shows such clemency to the defeated Biafrans this can be "claimed as reflecting credit on the example set by the British in their use of power", it is hard to know whether this is ignorance or arrogance. Neither is a gift to be envied in a writer on overseas history. In the context of this review, however, it must be with public administration and the bureaucracy that we are concerned. Here, if we are to judge the new nations by their preference, is one of the real appeals of Britain's legacy overseas. Few institutions have captured the mind of Asia's and Africa's educated élites so grippingly – for whatever reasons – as the public service. Yet Professor Bolton finds room for only one page on the legacy of the civil service overseas. The work of expatriate British administrators was creative and benevolent in many ways but it was no advertisement for parliamentary democracy. His conclusion is that, given the prototype of colonial administration as the District Officer, "alien, honest and all-powerful, amalgamating in his own person a wide range of bureaucratic and judicial functions, and in many instances also acting in a political capacity", the best corrective to post-independence malaise in Africa and Asia would have been the fostering of a yet stronger civil service. All things considered, not really a book to be recommended with any enthusiasm, I fear.

It is in the *Reform of the Nigerian Public Service* that we have by far the most important of these books insofar as this Journal is concerned. Here is the record of a conference held in 1971 at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, itself a follow-up to the conference held the previous year on administrative and political development (the proceedings were reviewed in this Journal in July 1972, pp. 224-225 – Editor). Like its predecessor volume, the format comprises a short, prepared, background paper (there are nine altogether), followed by substantial verbatim reporting of the ensuing discussion and finishing with the Chairman's summary of the issues raised. Each of the three sections, "Articulation among the Units", "Personnel Management and Staff Development", and "Perspectives of the Public Service", is rounded off with an enumeration of conclusions reached on each paper. The discussions represent as important a contribution as the circulated papers, among which those by Awoniyi, Odumosu, and Tukur's second piece stand out as being of prime interest.

That this conference was no set piece, devoid of controversy and puffed up with pre-arranged accord, is clear in the prepared papers as well as in the

discussion. For instance, we note (p. 11) Adamu Ciroma's eloquent refutation of his colleague's contention that the civil service in Nigeria is a foreign graft – an undiplomatic assertion at an Institute which has long stressed the continuity of administrative tradition in the emirates, the recognition of *sarauta*, "office", and the centuries-old existence of a corps of professional administrators; and is currently engaged in a research scheme focused on pre-colonial administration. Then there is evidence of national ambivalence over the irritant question of a system of quotas in recruitment to the Federal Public Service, closing with a shrewdly Delphic recommendation by no less a person than Nigeria's eminent Chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission that: "I am against the quota system but at the same time we should look critically at the Nigerian situation. We have seen in some of the advanced countries that they look at certain sensitive areas, whether racial or religious, and study how these people can be represented. We should ensure that some sort of reasonable representations are allowed in order to ensure political stability but this should not be done at the expense of, efficiency".

Again, the younger graduate participants took the speaker severely to task when he castigated the intellectual arrogance of their classes' recent reluctance to serve in the rural areas. Then there was the hot challenge to Dr. Odenigwe's call for a National Civil Service Cadre, with its delicate undertones in certain parts of the Federation of the ill-fated 1966 proposal to establish a single unified cadre of "upper segment" civil servants for the whole country. Even after the proposed National Civil Service Cadre was carefully distinguished from the Federation's present Supernumerary Staff Scheme, a degree of confusion and contestation seemingly continued to permeate the discussion. All of which goes to show that, in 1975 as much as in 1965, one of the most formidable and sensitive issues must still be, along with the census, the nature of the relationship, at all levels of interaction and in all kinds of institutions, between the Federal Government and its constituent Governments. As Professor Adedeji wittily reminded the conference when it started to talk of fair shares of the national cake, "If the bakers are quarrelling, you cannot even bake the cake."

The book carries no price, no date of publication, no guidance as to where it can be reliably ordered from, and incomplete pagination of its important contents. It would be a pity if, as a result of these publishing shortcomings, this conference report did not reach the wide readership that its contents deserve. *Reform of the Nigerian Public Service* is one of the most thoughtful, stimulating and relevant conference reports on public administration in Africa that I have yet read.

But in the Nigeria of today it is more than this. It is more, too, than the articulate Ibrahim Tahir's call to re-examine the quality of the person who is initially recruited into the Administrative Service or the need to re-examine the procedure (if any) of appointing the head of the civil service. Public service reform is very much to the fore in bureaucratic thinking. In the United Kingdom we have had the Fulton Commission for the home civil service and the Duncan Report on the Foreign Service. *Administrative Quarterly* has recently published a whole number (April 1972) devoted to the

theme of administrative reform. The annual IAPA Seminar took for its 1972 theme the subject of public service reform, and the IDS at Sussex University sponsored a seminar with a similar theme in 1971. Kenya has had its important Ndegwa and Wamalwa reports on public service structure and remuneration, and Ghana has its Mills-Odoi report. Now the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, following up the mammoth Adebo report on wages and salaries, has set up the Udoji Commission. Its terms of reference, set out in Legal Notice No. 61 of 1972, are extensive enough to suggest that the Commission, for all its large membership, will require two if not three years if it is satisfactorily to cover all the ground expected of it. As Staff College consultant to the East African Community in 1972, I spent a lot of time working on the highly-important Wamalwa and Ndegwa Reports, the latter being a sort of Kenyan combination of Nigeria's Adebo and Udoji Commissions rolled into one. There is no reason at all to think that the Udoji report on public service reform will be any less valuable – nor can it possibly be any less voluminous – than the Ndegwa part-precedent.

Udoji's team has, however, one immediate advantage over Ndegwa's. It has to hand a first-rate statement of many of the problems and a number of the solutions of public service reform in Nigeria today in Mahmud Tukur's *Reform of the Nigerian Public Service*. One may hope that Chief Udoji will direct, as General Gowon directed with respect to the proceedings of the 1969 Ibadan conference on reconstruction and development in post-war Nigeria, that nobody should attend the plenary meetings until and unless he has read, marked, learned and patently digested the papers contained in the proceedings of the Zaria conference on reform of the public service in Nigeria.

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE

Land Policy in Buganda, by HENRY W. WEST; *Cambridge University Press* 1972; maps, appendices, bibliography, index, pp. 244; £6.50.

Land Policy in Buganda is the third book in the African Studies Series, directed by the African Studies Centre at Cambridge. At the time when Dr. West conducted his research and completed the major part of the book, Buganda was a Kingdom enjoying a federal relationship with the Uganda Government. Centrally situated, Buganda now comprises some 19 per cent of the total land area and 28 per cent of the total population of Uganda, but enjoys a 50 per cent share of the gross national product. Justification, if needed, for its choice as a subject for detailed study of land policy, is provided by the existence there of a unique form of land tenure, which has influenced land policy elsewhere in Uganda and has caused considerable interest (and also some misunderstanding) both in Uganda and in other parts of the world.

This system of land tenure originates from the land settlement, which forms an integral part of the famous Uganda Agreement of 1900. This Agreement was hastily negotiated by Sir Harry Johnston with the Regents and Principal Chiefs of Buganda within the space of three months from his first arrival in the territory. Although agreements with Chiefs were a pattern of early European penetration of East Africa, the Uganda Agreement and, to a lesser

extent, the sketchier agreements with two other Kingdoms in Uganda were unique in that they contained a land settlement introducing European concepts of individually-owned land. Thus by an accident of British colonial history the inhabitants of Buganda had thrust upon them overnight a new and strange form of tenure having little relevance to their existing customs, a process which Dr. West calls "individualisation by administrative decree".

The Agreement, regarded by the Baganda as sacrosanct, was unfortunately vague as to the precise nature of the rights created by the settlement – it refers merely to "private property" – and as to the precise manner in which the settlement would be implemented. In the years which followed its signing, both British and Ganda administrators applied their own interpretation and devised *ad hoc* procedures for its implementation, so that there eventually emerged a system of land tenure which was an ill-adapted mixture of English and Ganda notions of property. This is known as *mailo* tenure, mailo being merely a Luganda rendering of the English word "mile", adopted because the initial allocations under the land settlement were expressed in square miles. Although *Land Policy in Buganda* discusses all categories of land within the former Kingdom, it is essentially about mailo tenure.

It is not surprising that this "unusual (and in some respects unique) experiment in land tenure 'engineering'" has created wide interest. Historians, lawyers, surveyors, economists, sociologists and administrators have been moved to expound their views, and there is an unusual wealth of literature on the subject. The bibliography on pages 226 to 237, which contains some unpublished papers, lists 96 items of legislation and official reports, 34 special studies of land problems in Buganda, and 99 other works of a more general nature having relevance to Buganda. The fact remains, however, that despite this profusion of published material, *Land Policy in Buganda* is the only publication to treat the subject of land tenure and policy in Buganda comprehensively and in depth. The only other comparable studies are A. B. Mukwaya's *Land Tenure in Buganda – Present-day Tendencies* and Dr. West's earlier work, written at the request of the Uganda Government while he was still a serving officer there, *The Mailo System in Buganda; a Preliminary Case Study in African Land Tenure*. *Land Policy in Buganda* is certainly the definitive work on the subject, and is likely long to remain so.

After an historical summary, which is necessary to the understanding of the subject but which is kept to the minimum length needed for that purpose, the author discusses fully the character of proprietary rights, first of mailo and freehold interests and secondly of derivative interests. It is perhaps these derivative interests, particularly the system of *kibanja* tenancies, that illustrate most clearly the mixture of customary Ganda and applied English notions of property, and the wording of the law applicable to kibanja tenancies underlines the difficulty of expressing these customary notions in statutory terms: "Every *mukopi*[1] shall tender the following *envujo*[2], namely, one gourd of *mwenge*[3] on every occasion of brewing of beer, such gourd to contain as

[1]Tenant.
[2]Tribute.
[3]Banana beer.

much liquid contents as is equal to four gallons (Imperial measure)." Then follow three chapters on devolution on death, the market in property rights, and the record of land rights. Appropriately, since the study is designed "to concentrate on the problems of the present and future", the book concludes with a synopsis of future policy. Not all the suggestions are new, for administrators have been aware for many years of the nature of the defects in the land tenure system. In particular, the suggestion that the relationship between landlords and tenants should be expressed in contractual leases (p. 202), repeats a recommendation put forward by the Kabaka of Buganda as long ago as 1934 and since repeated in the East Africa Royal Commission Report and other official reports. To some extent also the proposals have already been overtaken by events, as explained below. However, this is a very useful chapter and contains much new thinking on various policy issues.

I liked the apt and pithy quotations, culled from sources ranging from the Holy Bible to the East Africa Royal Commission Report 1953 to 1955, with which Dr. West launches each chapter, and was disappointed that he appears to have been at a loss for a suitable quotation for his chapter on derivative interests. I also appreciated the clarity with which the information and arguments are presented and the commendable avoidance of unnecessary use of technical terms with which a general reader may not be familiar. Some essential terms are defined in the Introduction, although few readers are likely to be enlightened by the (borrowed) definition of "proprietary land unit", even though a footnote invites their attention to a further explanation of the definition. The use of some Luganda terms is obviously essential in a work of this kind, and a glossary of these terms is provided. The book has been admirably produced by the Cambridge University Press. The text is supported by a valuable collection of thirteen maps, printed in colour. Presumably technical binding problems are responsible for the somewhat incongruous positioning of these maps in the middle of the final chapter on future policy.

The book suffers from one defect, which is in no way the fault of the author. The pace of political, economic and social change in Africa is fast, and Uganda is no exception; the pace of the book production, however, is sometimes stately and Dr. West has suffered the exasperating fate which has befallen several other writers on contemporary African affairs. His research work in Uganda coincided with the disturbances, which led to the deposition of the Kabaka and a radical alteration in the status of the Kingdom, and the major part of the book was written before the promulgation of Uganda's Third (Republican) Constitution of 1967, which introduced several important changes in the tenure and administration of land in Buganda. Thus, as he himself states, "the work is already out of date in some respects". He has adopted the only course open to him in the circumstances and has briefly described in a Preface the main changes introduced by the 1967 Constitution, exhorting his readers to take these changes into account when reading the text and reminding them to do so by subsequent footnotes. At least he can take comfort from the fact that some of these changes are in line with his own recommendations made in Chapter 8.

Although it may still be too early to assess the full effect of all these changes, it is likely to be drastic. From the time of the Agreement until 1966 Buganda had enjoyed its own special and unique form of tenure, largely defined by Buganda, not Central Government, laws. The right to regulate and, to a large extent, to administer this tenure was the jealously guarded prerogative of the Kabaka, his Government and the Lukiiko, a prerogative which occasionally led to bitter dispute between the Buganda and the Central Government, as, for example, in the matter of the Bataka controversy (p. 139 *et seq.*) and of the regulation of kibanja tenancies (p. 69 *et seq.*) in the 1920s. Even rights which are elsewhere usually accepted as the prerogative of the Central Government, such as the right to acquire land for public purposes and the right to the ownership of minerals, were denied to the Uganda Government.

Dr. West states in his Preface that despite the changes introduced by the 1967 Constitution, "the land tenure situation in Buganda remains basically unaltered"; but is it likely to remain so for long? The Constitution, while admittedly providing that mailo tenure should continue, nevertheless struck at the very roots of the system. Buganda no longer has a King and its special status as a federal state within Uganda has ended. The Uganda Parliament now has specific powers to regulate "estates and interests in and the transfer of mailo land". Mineral rights in mailo land are now firmly vested in the Uganda Government. An important distinguishing feature of mailo tenure – the concept of mailo land held by virtue of office – has been effectively removed. Other changes have resulted, not before time, in the Uganda Government's Administrator General taking over from the Buganda clan authorities the issue of certificates of succession.

While this book is certainly the definitive work on land policy in Buganda, it may at the same time prove to be an obituary of the mailo system. The special features which distinguish mailo from other tenures may become as irrelevant in Uganda as those of gavelkind in Kent. There can surely now be little possibility of these special features of land tenure in Buganda being "extended to the rest of Uganda" (page 2), but rather the reverse. Changes, so far, suggest an incipient standardisation of tenure in Uganda as a whole, based not on an extension of the mailo system but on statutory tenures prevailing elsewhere. Hopefully, the goal of "one compact body of land law for the whole of Uganda", recommended by Dr. West (page 192), may eventually be achieved.

J. C. D. LAWRANCE

French Administrative Law, by L. NEVILLE BROWN and J. F. GARNER; *Butterworths, second edition* 1973; pp. xvi+187, appendices and index; £3.20.

If you happen to be French, it takes a profound mental adjustment to understand the British method of doing things in government and administration – and the same applies the other way round. Although the eventual solutions to many problems of policy turn out to be remarkably similar, there is still something in the old truisms, that a Frenchman instinctively tends to centralise and to build institutions from first principles, while an

Englishman instinctively does the opposite. This enhances the value of a study written from the standpoint of one culture about the institutions of the other – not only for nationals of the two countries in question, but for anyone working within institutions of the British or French tradition in other parts of the world. It explains, incidentally, why Brian Chapman's two books on French provincial administration and local government were so popular *in France* in the 1950s – the comparative insights that result from such an approach can sometimes be very powerful.

This is the second edition of a book which first appeared in 1967, and has established itself as a leading contribution to the field of study. Its subject is "litigation between a citizen and some organ of the state in an administrative context" – excluding, therefore, the other areas of administrative law as the term is understood in France (that is, law on the organisation of the civil service, local government, and public bodies of all kinds). The focus of study is of course the *Conseil d'Etat*, well described elsewhere as "one of the few French institutions respected and envied both at home and abroad".* As often occurs, the Conseil has changed its function radically since it was created by Napoleon as an advisory body to an autocratic regime. It is still composed of civil servants, but has acquired a status which gives it considerable independence of action from the government. The bulk of its activity nowadays comes from the Conseil's position as a court of appeal from provincial (and overseas) administrative tribunals.

Having set out the background, the authors devote five chapters to the French system of administrative courts, their structure and membership, procedure and jurisdiction, and the conditions precedent for judicial review. Two chapters follow on the law itself, discussing separately administrative liability and administrative legality. A chapter on the influence of French administrative law on other parts of Europe (including the European Court of Justice) leads to a concluding one arguing the merits and defects of the system. The authors are clearly enthusiastic for it on balance, but do not suggest that it is transferable to an English-style situation. What could well be learned from France is the concept of a fully-developed and organised system of administrative courts, as opposed to the piecemeal British approach which creates specialised tribunals with limited areas of jurisdiction, as and when the need becomes urgent.

As soon as one penetrates the subject a little, the extraordinary differences of legal and political environment become apparent. True, both cultures are based on democratic principles and the use of "due process" wherever the rights of the individual are affected. But the French constitution gives to executive officials – from the President down to a prefect or mayor – their own discretionary power to issue certain regulations, independently of the law-making power of Parliament. The *Conseil d'Etat* is there to ensure that these regulations do not trespass upon Parliament's rights, nor infringe the "general principles of the law" which the Conseil itself interprets. In a country where, with the traditional see-saw of power between legislature

*P. M. Williams and M. Harrison, *Politics and Society in de Gaulle's Republic.*

and executive, other public authorities have usually been weak by comparison, the French bureaucracy is strong and permanent, and a powerful hand on the reins is needed to prevent its influence from becoming oppressive.

The Conseil's own law (and this is striking, in a system where the Civil Code provides for nearly everything else) is entirely case law. It is not bound by its own previous decisions, and so is able to reform and refine the rules as circumstances change. There is no provision for a "jury" of laymen to participate in any of its proceedings. If one looks for snags in an otherwise admirable system, they might be found in the continuous expenditure of effort to define the borderline of jurisdiction between the *Conseil d'Etat* and the civil courts; and in the administrative cost of the Conseil, which is heavy. The civil servants who staff it are necessarily chosen from the cream of the service, and in most of the cases heard the plaintiffs have to be represented by a lawyer. The procedure which is followed ensures sound but slow judgements, and according to Brown and Garner the average time taken by a single case is 18 months at present.

What relevance does all this have for an administrator concerned with government in the Third World? The need for an individual citizen to be protected against the political decision-makers, and the rules that they lay down, is not seen everywhere as a high-priority goal. Some ideologies would even exclude it as superfluous in a situation of popular mobilisation – yet the institution of Ombudsman (under various titles) has more than once been tried out with success, in Tanzania for example. It is perhaps unrealistic to contemplate excluding a whole sector of administration from political influences, and to give it quasi-judicial status as in France. But the developing countries, no less than the industrialised ones, face a problem with the citizen who suffers unintended damage from the operation of administrative rules. A partial solution might be found, as Professor Jaffe suggests, by creating an administrative division of the High Court, with assessors brought in from outside.

This is a readable book, rich in case material, and a very good introduction to the subject. Its price seems high for a paperback volume of 187 pages, but the quality of production, the appendices and the index, are excellent.

PHILIP MAWHOOD

One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People – ROBERT S. MCNAMARA; *Pall Mall Press, London;* pp. 140; £1.00.

This is an edited version of some of the major speeches delivered by the President of the World Bank between 1968 and 1972. Sub-titled "The Dimensions of Development", they are compulsive and should perhaps be compulsory reading for all students and practitioners of the art of development wherever they may be studying or working. Mr. McNamara is a banker with a difference. Unlike many members of the banking profession – particularly those we know best from personal experience – he is much more concerned with the ends of bank lending than with the means employed. Money is not a real problem. There is a potentially inexhaustible supply

of this commodity. What is lacking is the vision and the imagination to put it urgently to work while there is still time on behalf of the world's poor. Poverty is the theme of these speeches – lectures might be a more apt description, and some might term them prophecies in the strictest theological sense of that term. Prescriptions for action based on a searching analysis of root causes.

Poverty is a function of many factors foremost amongst which are population growth, malnutrition, lack of employment, unequal distribution of the benefits of development, illiteracy, poor housing and disease. Mr. McNamara is convinced or at least optimistic that the world can feed itself provided steps are taken now to come to grips with the unrestricted growth of population. The key word is "now"; tomorrow will be too late. The cloud preceding the storm is already bigger than a man's hand. Population policies and programmes are essential but not in themselves sufficient to ride out the tempest on the horizon. There has to be a full frontal assault on all the other social barriers which separate the poorest 40 per cent of the world's population from any hope of a better life for themselves and more especially their children.

A predominant theme in all these speeches is the note of urgency. This is not just a matter of exponential curves. The future poor are already with us and they, too, are in the process of transmitting that poverty to the coming generations. The cycle of deprivation is a global phenomenon. What can be done? As far as the Bank is concerned the President is quite clear: "In a developing world in which hunger is chronic, it means intensifying our efforts in agriculture. We have quadrupled our operations in that sector.

"In a developing world darkened by functional illiteracy, it means expanding our efforts in education. We have tripled our operations in that sector.

"In a developing world caught up in the threat of unmanageable population pressures, it means facing up to that complex and controversial problem. We have established a Population Projects Department, and we have launched important initiatives in that sector."

In his address to the Governors of the World Bank in Washington in September 1972, Mr. McNamara said: "With careful planning and the support of the Governors of the Bank, we are convinced that the World Bank can obtain the necessary funds to continue to expand its operations during a Second Five-Year Programme. And that is what we propose to do.

"As an over-all goal, for the fiscal year period 1974-78, we propose to increase our financial commitments to our developing member countries by an average of 11 per cent a year and to shift an increasing percentage of these commitments to International Development Association credits.

"If we can achieve this expanded level of operations – and I am confident that it is possible – it means that the World Bank will help finance and provide technical assistance for some £50 billion of capital improvements in our developing member countries during the period of the Second Five-Year Programme.

"Standing on the threshold of a new Five-Year Programme at the Bank, I remain optimistic about the future of the world and the majority of its inhabitants, who live in developing countries. I remain an optimist because I have visited many of those countries and have seen with my own eyes how great an effort they are making to improve their own lot. I cannot believe that the affluent world will fail to play its small but crucial part in assisting the betterment of its neighbours. I am determined that the Bank shall play its full part as an active and skilled agency for the development of the people of the world."

The Bank, through its President, has willed the end; will its wealthy clients will the means?

L.W.N.

Applied Anthropology, by ROGER BASTIDE; translated from French by ALICE L. MORTON; *Croom Helm, London,* 1973; pp. 226; £4.95.

This is not, as its title might suggest, a handbook of "do it yourself" anthropology. Rather it is an examination of the social, moral and philosophical implications of the subject, regarded as a science concerned with the understanding of processes of development and change, mostly though not exclusively in the third world.

The author, correctly described on the dust-cover as one of France's leading anthropologists, is frank about the complexity of this undertaking. Applied anthropology is not, as the naive might think it is, "a rational art which is to be added to an objective science". It is "a science full of value judgements"; often mutually conflicting ones (p. 8). The applied anthropologist finds himself "in the midst of the struggle", for not only must he take account of the ideas and values of the people affected – this anthropological truism has received lip service (at least) for years – he must also try to comprehend a total situation which includes the planner, even the anthropologist himself, each with his own not always explicit culture and ideology.

So Professor Bastide's central theme is the inseparability of "facts" and value judgements: as he says, in the very process of examining social reality we re-create it. Consequently ethno- (or socio-) centrism is scarcely avoidable. Among the interesting themes which he discusses are the different ways in which ideology and reality interact in "planned acculturation" under capitalism and socialism respectively (Chaps. 4 and 5), the capitalist's blander model stressing cultural unity and homogeneity, the Marxist looking for and (expectedly) finding conflict and contradiction. Many worthwhile observations are made in the course of the author's sometimes complex arguments. For example, he notes among significant but sometimes neglected factors in change the *Western*-based "ethnocentrism" of some modern African leaders, who may want to press ahead with reform faster than the (usually alien) anthropologist advises (p. 35), and the central role as innovators in situations of change of "marginal men", who manage to combine, sometimes rather uncomfortably, a measure of commitment to both traditional and new values (p. 97).

The problems posed by our ineluctable subjectivity are certainly formidable, and Professor Bastide offers us no easy solutions. But we need not despair. The scholar who sets the search for truth above all other values can sometimes "fight against his ideologies", he may even win, though his victory is unlikely to be either complete or clearcut (p. 155). For there is a "logic of things independent of the logic of our manipulative reason" (p. 214), and the reality that this external logic represents is not wholly inaccessible. Professor Bastide offers us a scholarly, sensitive and thoughtful (if rather costly) guide to the snares and pitfalls involved in reaching it.

JOHN BEATTIE

Employment and Incomes Policies for Iran, *International Labour Office, Geneva,* 1973; tables, pp. 100; £1.50.

Following the lengthy reports of the ILO Missions to Colombia, Sri Lanka and Kenya, it makes a refreshing change to find that the Mission to Iran, led by Mr. Etienne Hirsch, has set out its findings and recommendations in a clearly and forthrightly written 100 pages. No doubt the task was easier as here was a country already strongly viable, rich in natural resources and already embarked on considerable and successful development. The question faced was "where do we go next?" rather than "where do we start?" how to cope with the speed of development rather than how to stimulate development itself.

The Mission very sensibly gives family planning the highest priority – otherwise in the long term unemployment will never be kept to manageable size. Limited water resources and limited good land for major agricultural expansion makes the Mission see the industrial sector as the essential employment creator. An increasing urban population, however, provides the consumer demand for the products of the soil and the need to introduce the technology of the green revolution is stressed, together with a fairer distribution of income between the few rich and the many poor, between urban workers and those in the rural areas, and a fairer distribution of services as between town and country – schools, water supplies, lighting, housing. The Mission places great faith in the development of multi-purpose co-operatives and a wider use of the Agricultural Co-operative bank to help the rural areas, together with an enormous training programme for co-operative personnel. One must wonder whether co-operatives on the scale advocated can really prove to be the complete panacea for rural Iran. One must wonder, also, whether a highly centralised state whose impetus for progressive reform and large-scale development projects has emanated from the fountain-head, can readily decentralise effectively and efficiently as advocated by the Mission. Decentralisation without popular participation involved in the process, can be a dangerous path to pursue, though no doubt decentralisation is greatly needed if production and services are to be increased in outlying districts.

Not surprisingly from a Mission with a strong ILO element, a number of cherished ILO principles are advocated: employment agencies, tripartite

Government/Employer/Trade Union Committees, a social security scheme, unemployment benefits, the annual adjustment of minimum wages, etc., principles that Iran can afford to implement more readily than most developing countries.

Ambitious proposals include the construction of large dams and allied irrigation canals, the training of 40,000 skilled workers p.a., extensive low-cost housing, greatly-expanded social services. New economic-growth-creating credit and fiscal policies are recommended. No mention is made, however, of the effects on the economy of the heavy expenditure incurred on defence. Very properly the Mission expects Iran to meet a substantial proportion of the Technical Assistance costs involved in implementing its report.

With wealth from oil hastening the pace of development, Iran, unlike most other developing countries, has the means in men and money to achieve a vastly increased standard of living for her people. It is in this context that the Mission has been able to proffer an ambitious programme of action. The winds of Iran are set fair for progress under her present enlightened leadership. It is to be hoped that the proposals put forward will not overtax the administrative machinery and thereby prove counter-productive.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

Third World Employment: Problems and Strategy; eds. RICHARD JOLLY, EMANUEL DE KADT, HANS SINGER, FIONA WILSON; *Penguin*, 1973; index; pp. 447; £1.20.

Here is a notable exception to the general run of readings – so often a chronological pitfall for the student. Indeed, as one would expect from editorship by such a strong team of experienced and enlightened specialists at IDS, this Penguin volume contains an admirable and catholic selection of up-to-date and pertinent material covering the many varied and vital facets of the employment problem in the Third World – the problem which is so clearly related with population and poverty, to form a three-dimensional focus for DD2.

In all 27 authors, the ILO and a Group at IDS Sussex are drawn upon to cover a carefully-selected field: the concepts of the employment problems; population growth and migration; education and employment; employment in agriculture; urban industries and employment; technology and the choice of techniques and employment-oriented planning.

In a lucid introduction which knits appropriately together the material that is to follow, the editors emphasise the gravity of un- and under-employment in developing countries; e.g. it far exceeds the worst situations reached in the West during the slump years of the 1930s; it affects the young and the educated most of all; circumstances differ widely between countries and between regions and even districts within countries – common to all has been the insuperable problem of matching employment opportunity growth with the growth of the labour force, the common factor of the population explosion.

In conclusion, it is to the social scientists that the editors look for urgently-needed empirical work on this immense problem; "the welfare of perhaps one-third of mankind could be affected" by how seriously they respond to this challenge .Excellently set out and printed, and costed modestly, here is a first-class textbook which teachers, researchers and students will surely be using throughout the coming decade.

Urban Unemployed in Developing Countries, by PAUL BAIROCH; *ILO, Geneva*, 1973; pp. 99; £1.20.

The author describes this small book as no more than a preliminary study of a serious problem. The study forms part of ILO's World Employment Programme and between its slim covers a great deal of material is contained. The magnitude of urban population growth in the quarter century since the second World War is without precedent in history, bringing unemployment in its wake, and Paul Bairoch puts forward a number of recommendations on how to reduce urban unemployment. These include: priority for labour-intensive techniques, the use of urban unemployed on urban rehabilitation works – especially housing improvements; technical training for the unemployed in trades likely to have employment vacancies; import substitution; temporary control of migration to urban centres; counter-balancing rural development to slow down rural-urban drift, i.e. more resources to be directed to agriculture, better incomes for farmers, better social amenities in rural areas, reform of primary education so as to present a more attractive image of agricultural work, assistance to urban dwellers wishing to return to their rural environment, the deceleration of demographic growth.

The author wisely emphasises that there is no blue print applicable to all countries and he realises that some of his proposals could themselves generate new problems. Indeed, the task of implementation is very great; recent history would seem to indicate that urban squatters can be repelled no more than Canute could turn back the tide. Only a fully-integrated rural-urban development policy with increased resources devoted to agriculture can, as Paul Bairoch stresses, hope to counter in much of the Third World, the scourge of urban unemployment.

Employment, Status and Conditions of Non-National Workers in Africa – Report II.

The Promotion of Balanced Rural and Urban Development – Report III.

Price of each: 12.50 Swiss Francs.

These two reports, published by ILO Geneva, were prepared as background material for the Fourth African Regional Conference arranged for November/December 1973.

For briefing purposes they each set out the lines which it would seem Geneva hoped the Conference would follow when it reached its conclusions, in many cases already generally-accepted doctrine; none-the-less in a pre-conference paper "proposed conclusions" make rather strange reading! Perhaps a little strange, too, is the phrase urban "over-unemployment" (a quote from Bairoch's excellent monograph on urban unemployment) – the use of this rather mealy-mouthed language is to be deprecated. In the context here the reader would be entitled to assume that ILO regards urban unemployment as tolerable unless it becomes considerable!

Child Welfare, by B. C. MUTHAYYA; *National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad;* map and tables; pp. 184; Rs. 20.

This study is the result of a research project carried out by the author in the Chevella Block of Hyderabad district in Andhra Pradesh, aided by funds from the Netherlands Foundation for Child Welfare. The three year research was assisted by *ad hoc* medico-health programmes introduced in the first year so as to evoke public enthusiasm in the area, and to enable the researchers to understand attitudinal constraints and "to locate the factors that may help in the sustenance of the programmes".

A great deal of data was collected and processed. The respondents questioned were mostly in their thirties (40 per cent of the Indian population is under 15), peasant cultivators who did not buy seeds or fertilisers; over 60 per cent of the men and over 90 per cent of the women interviewed were illiterate – hence newspaper reading as non-prevalent is scarcely surprising. The socio-economic circumstances of the respondents were far from satisfactory and it is to be hoped that programmes initiated as a result of this research will bring improvement. It would have been helpful to the local authorities, one feels sure, had the author marshalled his conclusion in a clearer, firmer and more succinct form.

Cases and Statutes on Constitutional and Administrative Law, by H. W. CLARKE; *Sweet & Maxwell, London;* Tables of Cases and Statutes; index; pp. 216; £1.40 (paperback).

This is a fascinating small book and the author is to be congratulated on the shrewd selection of the cases which he cites. Intended primarily for students, the general reader with an interest in the rights of the British citizen and the historical background to those rights will find many pages of absorbing interest. It is salutory to be reminded how important has been the role of the courts, sitting independently of the sovereign, in establishing the freedom of the individual from interference by the Executive; to be reminded how much we owe to the courageous decisions of the great lawyer Coke.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1973/1974, Ed. JOHN PAXTON; *Macmilla* tables, maps, index; pp. 1566; £4.30.

At remarkably modest cost, the 110th edition of The Statesman's Year-Book provides once more a mine of national and international information, admirably set out and clearly printed. This year's new additions include a map of the new UK local government boundaries with an accompanying up-to-date article on the British local government system; and a map of world shipping routes on which container ports are marked and listed.

Before the next edition is published some of the Tanzania references will need to be brought up to date. The first Vice-President is Mr. Aboud *Jumbe;* an incomplete list of ministers is provided; the section on Zanzibar needs revision – that shown under Justice is far from correct.

Natural Justice, by PAUL JACKSON *Sweet & Maxwell, London,* 1973; Tables and Index; pp. 88; £1.50.

"In the quest for justice under the Rule of Law there has been no more spontaneously acceptable idea than the principle embodied in the maxim *audi alteram partem*" – i.e. the right to be heard and to defend oneself. Natural justice calls for the right to be heard, that no one should be judge in his own cause, that the courts be impartial. In this small and clearly-expounded volume the author notes an increasing readiness of British Courts to call the administration to account, to regard with greater concern than formerly the gravity of the consequences to the individual of decisions taken. Natural justice is now applied to Universities and other self-governing bodies – professional and non-professional (e.g. the Football Association). Natural Justice subsumes not merely the right to be heard but the right to prepare oneself before one is heard – adequate notice. Paul Jackson provides a lucid introduction to an important theme affecting the personal rights of the citizens – he looks at the circumstances when natural justice is not applicable or is excluded from a Court's purview. Aimed at the University law student this book should appeal also to the more general reader who is interested in the basic legal rights of freedom-loving man.

Institution Building: A Source Book, by MELVIN G. BLASE *Sage Publications, London, for the United States Agency for International Development;* subject and author index; pp. 325; £5.00.

The purpose of this bibliography is to provide both practitioners and academics concerned with Institution building in the developing nations of the World, with a guide-book to the literature on their subject, much of which is scattered in diverse discipline-oriented Journals and very often unknown to them. Mimeographed sources had to be traced and copies made, so that a complete library could be built up.

The book is divided into three main parts: (a) a descriptive bibliography, (b) Key Concepts, and (c) relationships between concepts. Its principal value will be for the academic world – useful to teachers, researchers and students concerned with development studies.

Occasional Paper 72/1: **The Concept of Alternatives to Development,** by PETER L. BERGER;

Occasional Paper 72/2: **Participation and the Multidimensional Development of Complexity,** by EUGEN PUSIC;

Occasional Paper 72/3: **Administering Alternatives and Alternatives in Administration – Some Preliminary Observations,** by WARREN FLECHMAN;

Occasional Paper 73/2: **Alternatives in Development: Political Science and Policy Analysis,** by BABATUNDE A. WILLIAMS.

Published by the *Vienna Institute for Development.*

These four academic and largely theoretical papers have been prepared "to stimulate comment and criticism" and largely follow from a conference held in Vienna in 1971 on "Alternatives in Development". The authors look at community development, at the use of indigenous social structures (e.g. Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania, at the Yugoslav self-management team, at what are described as "human co-operative systems", at the winds of change making "participation" instead of "planning" the

password for new-look administration; at the "adoptive capacity" upon which to base the "key pillars" of "policy choice, resource allocations and social development").

The debate among political scientists concerned with development in the Third World will no doubt continue.

Comparative Public Administration, by RAMESH K. ARORA; *Associated Publishing House, New Delhi-5*; (UK distributors, UBS Publisher's distributors, North Acton, London); index; pp. 1962; £3.00.

Dr. Arora's Ph.D. thesis was written as he puts it "under the insightful guidance" of his professors. As usual with doctoral contributions, there is a plentiful supply of notes and references.

The author pays a lot of attention to Max Weber and Fred Riggs. He has read a lot and analysed his reading. In a *resumé* of the thoughts of others, there is little room for fresh thinking and Dr. Arora does not evolve any new concepts of his own. He has not, perhaps, read Mackenzie else he might have cogitated on whether public administration really needs a special theory to explain the difference between a developed and a developing country. Political scientists need to beware lest they make private academic magic out of a subject which relates to the practical management of government business – subject of course to a variety of influences.

The Oil and Gas Lease in Canada, by JOHN BISHOP BALLEM; *University of Toronto Press*, 1973; Case, Statute and General Index; pp. 336; £12.50.

The legal profession and students of law will find much to learn and much of interest in J. B. Ballem's detailed study of oil and gas leases in Canada. He looks at the present position reached after the "patching and makeshift repairs" resulting from Court decisions over past years.

He concludes that Canadian experience and jurisprudence now suffice upon which "to devise a document which would remove the hazards to the lessee, improve the position of the lessor, and generally provide a framework within which the minerals could be developed in a reasonable and equitable manner". The author himself submits a model lease which he has prepared with these objectives in mind.

With Oil and Gas discoveries now taking place in so many new parts of the world, this scholarly and admirably-produced volume should prove of considerable interest in many developed and developing countries.

British Social Life in India, 1608-1937, by DENNIS KINCAID; *Routledge & Kegan Paul, London*, 1973; illustrated, index; pp. 344; £3.00.

General J. D. Lunt provides a new and penetrating introduction, and Col. Frank Wilson a cheerful series of Ninteenth-Century-style Punch drawings, for this admirably-produced new edition of Dennis Kincaid's delightful vignettes on British social behaviour in India, from the unmilitaristic young factors of the C17 to the C19 and early C20 era of imperial soldiers and civil servants.

We see the rougher, down-to-earth era of fairly uninhibited male conduct change to odder and sillier formalities once the late Eighteenth Century brought British wives and womenfolk in greater numbers to set petty and parochial standards – not always without charm and often as retold by Kincaid enjoyable good fun to read about. (if one's forbearance can stand the tales of horrific snobbery and social prejudice) This is very good value for three pounds.

Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy; *ILO, Geneva;* pp. 182; Fr. (Swiss) 17.50.

This volume contains a report on a meeting of experts organised by ILO late in 1972 and is preceded by a working paper which had been prepared for the meeting.

The conclusions reached included the following recommendations. That the ILO should undertake a study of:

issues in the social policy field so as to identify and determine problems specific to multinational as opposed to national firms; and
the usefulness of international principles and guidelines in the field of social policy relating to the activities of multinational enterprises.

CENTO Seminar on Highway Planning and Administration, held at Lahore, Pakistan, August 1972.

CENTO Symposium on Central Banking, Monetary Policy and Economic Development, held at Izmir, Turkey, April 1971.

These two recent CENTO reports provide the papers and country situations in the fields discussed at each meeting.

Printed in England for HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
by Adams & Sons (Printers) Ltd., East Street, Hereford
Dd 506501 K15 3/74

Prospects for Employment Opportunities in the Nineteen Seventies

Planners in the seventies are presented with the unenviable choice of compromise between the economic need for efficiency in production and the pressing political requirements for more Employment.

Economists, planners, administrators at the 1970 Cambridge Conference on Development sought to provide at least some of the answers to this vital problem. The report shows how difficult it was to wrench development theory and practice away from growth rates so as to take the employment problems fully into account, and how an attempt was made to inject social concepts into planning while regarding David Morse's slogan "dethrone Gross National Product" as an ill-chosen red herring.

The eighth and final conference under Ronald Robinson's notable and stimulating chairmanship attracted more eminent participants from more overseas countries than ever before. The Chairman's introduction, the impressions of John White and Gerry Meier, the papers by David Morse, K. N. Raj, Brian Pollit, Paul Streeten, Fritz Schumacher, Dennis Akumu, Hans Singer, Geoffrey Chandler and Guy Hunter, among others, provide extensive focus to the wide variety of employment problems faced by the Conference. (Illustrated)

£2 (£2.13)

Free lists of titles (please specify subjects) are available from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, PMI A, Atlantic House, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1P 1BN

Government publications can be bought from the Government Bookshops in London (post orders to PO Box 569 SE1 9NH), Edinburgh, Cardiff, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol or through booksellers.

HMSO BOOKS

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

A Year Book of the Commonwealth 1973

This Year Book was formerly published under the title '*The Commonwealth Office Year Book*' and continues a succession of annual reference books which began with the first appearance of the *Colonial Office List* in 1862. The 1973 Year Book has been revised and brought up to date from official sources. It contains essential information about all the countries constituting the Commonwealth today, including the member nations, associated states and dependencies. Background information not readily available elsewhere is provided on the constitutional development of the Commonwealth and the countries comprising it and on Commonwealth trade and the organization of British government relations with other Commonwealth countries. Information is also included on the Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth regional organizations, diplomatic representation and currencies, and particulars are given of more than 150 committees, societies and organizations in Britain with Commonwealth interests or links.

£5.50 (by post £5.75)

Government publications can be bought from the Government Bookshops in London, Edinburgh, Cardiff, Belfast, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, or through booksellers.

There is a stockist of Government publications in most areas. See the Bookseller section of Yellow Pages.

HMSO BOOKS

ISBN 0 11 722337 9